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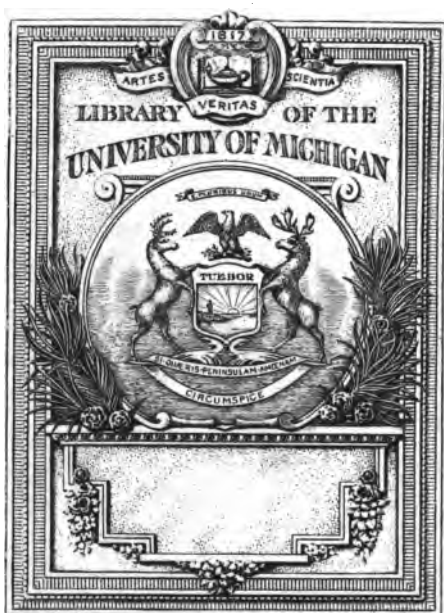
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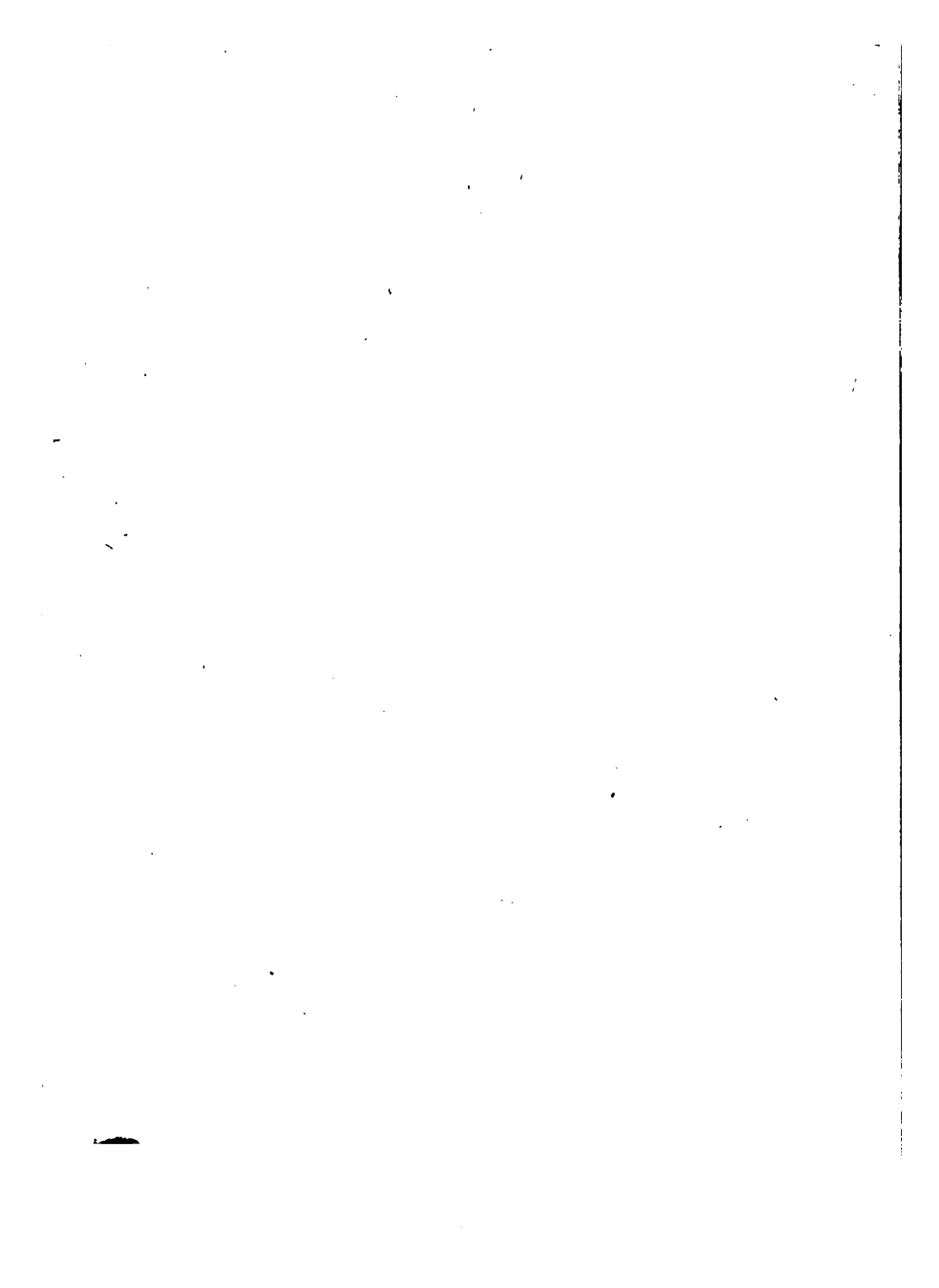
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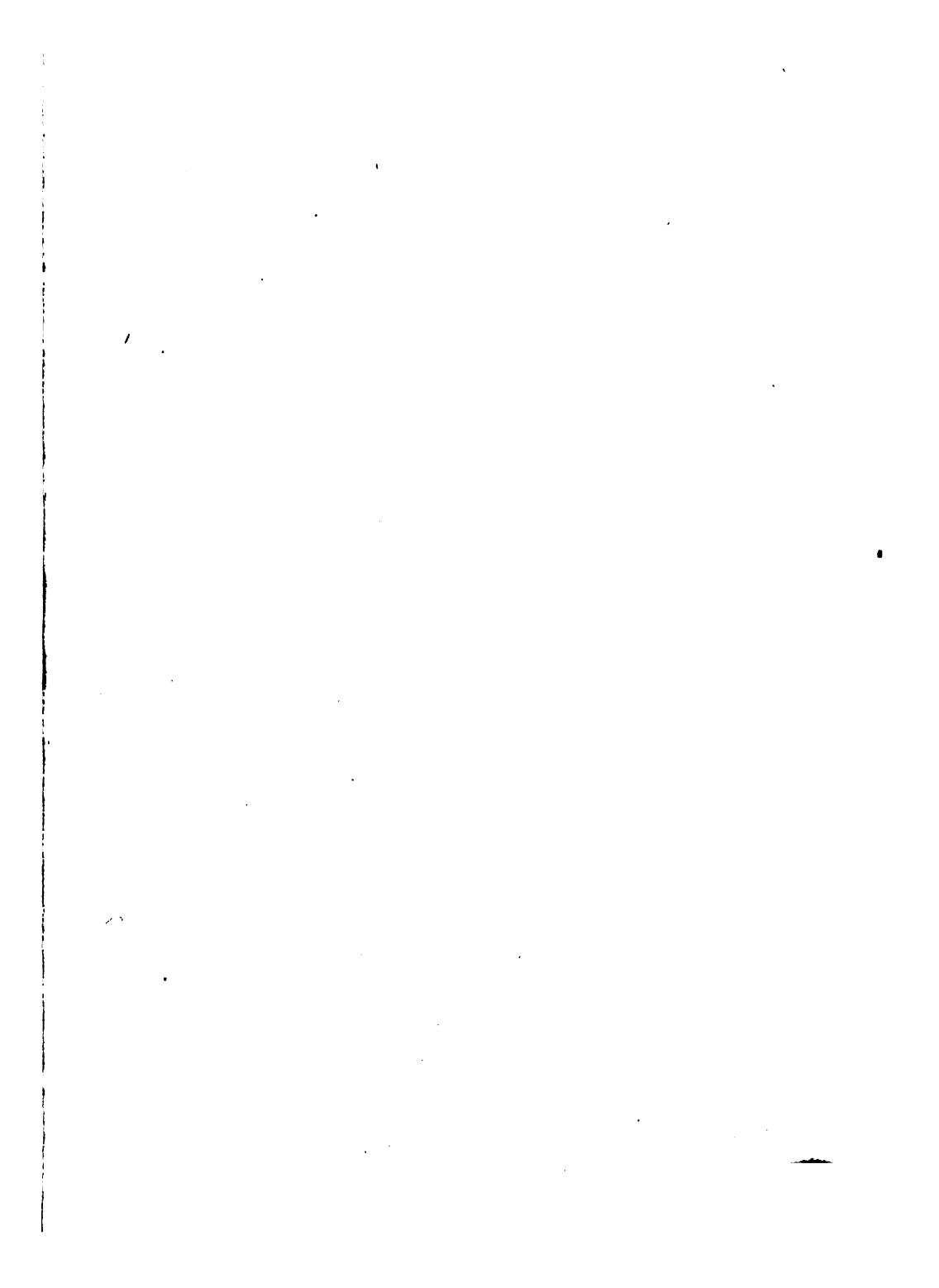
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THE
RIGHTS
OF

Protestant Dissenters.

In Two Parts.

THE FIRST
Being the Case of the Dissenters Review'd.

THE SECOND,
A Vindication of their Right to an
Absolute Toleration, from the Ob-
jections of Sir H. MACKWORTH,
in his Treatise, intitul'd, *Peace at Home.*

PART I.

*Refrain from these Men, and let them alone: for if this
Counsel, or this Work be of Men, it will come to nought.
But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye
be found even to fight against God. ACTS V. 38, 39.*

LONDON, Printed in the Year M. DCC. IV.

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Division of Criminal Investigation

Washington, D.C.

Report of the Division of Criminal Investigation

on the activities of the

Division of Criminal Investigation

for the year ending

December 31, 1954

Report of the Division of Criminal Investigation

on the activities of the

Division of Criminal Investigation

for the year ending

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Division of Criminal Investigation

for the year ending

December 31, 1954

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TO THE
QUEEN'S

Most Excellent Majesty.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Dissenters are fully persuaded, that Your Majesty, who does not deny Foreign States your Protection; whose Government administers Justice impartially to the Injur'd and Oppress'd, and whose Concern extends to the meanest of your Subjects, will not take it ill, that amidst the greater Business with which the Affairs of Britain and Christendom fill up your time, you are apply'd to in behalf of a considerable Body of your People, wrong'd by Misrepresentations, that carry a Charge of equal Disaffection to your Government, Ingratitude and Folly, and which, if true, wou'd justly forfeit your Majesty's Protection

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and Favor! They therefore think themselves oblig'd, in Justice to your Majesty and their own Reputation, to take this method to prevent any wrong Notions concerning their Loyalty from being obtruded on your Majesty, by any under the false Colors of Faithfulness to your Interest and the Truth.

Your Majesty, who have had it so often publickly insinuated to You of late, that the Protestant Dissenters are Enemies to our Constitution and dangerous to your Majesty's Government, cannot but take Satisfaction to find it contradicted, and to be assur'd, that if there are any among your People so stupid, as to be insensible of the Advantages of the best constituted Government the World can boast of, or so incredibly base as to have any ill Designs against your Majesty's Administration, unhappily fill'd up with too much Toil and Difficulty, to create the Envy, or the Unthankfulness and Dissatisfaction of your Subjects to render it uneasy to you: I say, that if there be any such, they are not so many as they have been represented, nor are the Few that deserve this odious Character among their Number. An Assurance that your Majesty will receive with the greater Satisfaction, inasmuch as Disloyalty would be aggravated by Ingratitude in them, who enjoy so many Blessings

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V.

sings under your Majesty's Reign. In this the Dissenters think themselves peculiarly happy, that a Justification of their Principles, which is a Duty incumbent upon them, is not likely to be wholly ungrateful to Your Majesty.

Nor will it be altogether useless to your Majesty, who find it indispensably necessary to be inform'd of the true Characters of Partys and Persons, to see the Principles of a Set of Men here represented, in order to your Majesty's forming a just Judgment, whether They have any that should raise a Distrust of their Loyalty, and render it necessary for Your Security, to have *a more watchful Eye over them, and to make a narrower Inspection into their Proceedings.*

And tho your Majesty has been address'd not very long since, in a Pompous Dedication, to take this Course with the Dissenters, and have had several unwarrantable and invidious Conclusions from contested Facts and Principles, suggested to You by an unknown Author, to argue the Necessity of such a Method; yet your Majesty will easily perceive, upon a Review of the innocent Principles of the Dissenters, that such Counsels can come from none, but one that is not that Friend to your Majesty's Government he pretends to be, or whose intemperate Heat has at least made him a mistaken one.

But

But for the Dissenters in the mean time to be silent, when such Insinuations are made to Your Majesty, wou'd be pleading Guilty to the Indictment; and when they are arraign'd before You, not to lodge their Answer in your Hands, wou'd betray an Unconcernedness about your Opinion of 'em, and convey a Notion equally disrespectful to your Majesty and unjust to Themselves.

They beg therefore that your Majesty wou'd give 'em leave to say, that whatsoever has made it thought so reasonable by a Party of late to impeach 'em of Disloyalty, and to endeavour to incense your Majesty against 'em; yet that they are perfectly satisfy'd, that your Majesty, to whom the Common Interest of the Nation is better known, than the private Advantages of each particular Party are to it self, is fully perswaded, that it can't be for your Service to shew any Distrust of Men, who have done nothing to forfeit your Majesty's Confidence, and whose Behavior of late may justly encrease it.

For they dare appeal to your Majesty, whether any were more zealous in promoting the Revolution than they; or more in earnest for settling the Protestant Succession, the Introduction to your Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne,

Throne, and the Security of your quiet Possession of it? Whether any give or pay Taxes more chearfully, and that at a time when they can have no manner of private Advantage to serve by it, nor so much as the innocent Principle of an honest Ambition; and the Prospect of any part of the Honor of managing the War You are so gloriously engag'd in, to animate 'em to contribute freely to its Support? Nay, whether any deprecate publick Calamitys, or give Almighty God the Praise due for National Advantages more fervently than they? Tho they find that thro the narrow and factious Spirits of some among us, Publick Disasters become their private Security, and Common Evils their greatest Danger: The most infallible Test of the warmest Desires of the Prosperity of your Majesty's Arms, and the Peace and Quiet of your Government, and of an Obedience, not wholly unlike the famed Submission of Isaac; since they wish the Success and Increase of your Power, and rejoice at it, under the hazard of being sacrific'd as a Thank-Offering for such Divine Favors, did not your Majesty, like the Angel, interpose between Them and Ruin.

The Dissenters, who, by being entirely disengag'd from all Foreign Interests, can have none but that of the Nation, and must always there-

therefore be suppos'd to be solicitous how that may be best serv'd, are too well appriz'd of the danger of a Disunion from Scotland upon your Majesty's Demise, and the Occasion which that unhappy Hour wou'd give those that are in the Interest of the Pretended Prince to execute their Evil Designs (tho your Majesty has receiv'd convincing Proofs, that nothing but the want of a fit Occasion can make them wait so long,) ever to allow themselves to be wanting in their most ardent Prayers and Wishes, for the long Continuance of your Majesty's Life, whom Almighty God has entrusted with a greater Opportunity to free Europe from the Danger of an Universal Slavery, and Us from the Fears of a Popish Successor, than any hereafter can be reasonably expected to be posselt of.

Some former Reigns indeed have been jealous of the Dissenters, and thought them dangerous, because the Prince, as a late Author has assur'd us in a Book dedicated to your Majesty, was a secret Roman Catholic in the former of those Reigns, and a profess'd one in the latter, and they had both of them Designs of introducing Popery and a Popish Succession. In pursuance of which unhappy measures, they put the Dissenters under very great Hardships, and commenc'd

Wars,

Wars, and entred into Alliances, contrary to the Genius and Interest of the People. But your Majesty's Glorious Predecessor, who, having nothing so much at heart as Liberty and the Protestant Religion, chang'd the private Maxims of the Court for the general Good and Inclinations of his People, and the Intrigues of the Cabinet for the constant Advice of Free Parliaments, and who steadily pursu'd those measures which were necessary to secure us from the Dangers of a Popish Pretender, and the Exorbitant Power of France, the only dangerous Support of his Pretensions, found the Dissenters ready to run thro' all Hazards and Difficultys, to render his Government secure and easy.

And since 'tis the Administration of Princes, that must always be suppos'd to procure the Love or Ill-Will of the People, the Dissenters must necessarily have the same Regards to Your Majesty, which they had to the late King of Immortal Memory: Your Majesty having not only given them your Royal Promise of the Continuance of a Toleration, which he first gave; but having unweariedly pursu'd his Measures with a Success, that he could only wish and prepare things for; but which was reserv'd by Providence to render your Reign Glorious, and your Memory precious to succeeding Ages.

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So that nothing can possibly make a Government conducted by these Maxims uneasy to the Dissenters but a Persecution, which sometimes proves a Temptation to Weak and Private Spirits to disturb the Public. And tho it has been formerly the Design to provoke the Dissenters by Hardships to enter into measures, which could neither secure them, nor they justify; yet the Passive Obedience they paid to the Laws so far defeated the Designs of their Enemys, as to force them often to accuse the Dissenters of Sham-plots to supply the want of Real Ones. And the Dissenters are equally secure against such Trials of their suffering Vertues now, both by your Majesty's Penetration into the false Policys of former Reigns, your Knowledg of their ill Success, and your Royal Promise, that no such Methods shall be made use of in Yours.

The Dissenters are very well satisfy'd, that your Majesty, who is at the Head of the Protestant Interest, and not of a Party of it, has too great a Concern for its common Interest, to weaken it, by allowing a Persecution of any of that Denomination. And that You have too just a Notion of the Methods of bringing the Dissenters into the Church, to suffer any to multiply the unnecessary terms of Communion, or to use Force and Violence to make 'em Members of it. They

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They are persuaded, that your Majesty has too much Tenderness to punish Men for that which You take to be *their Misfortune*, and not their Fault; and too much Regard to the Authority of Conscience, and the unalienable Right every Man has to a Liberty of obeying its Dictates, so let any Penalties be inflicted on Dissenters, or any Civil Privileges accompany their Conversion; which can only tend to bribe or intimidate their Consciences, whose Integrity is the best Security your Majesty can possibly have for the dutiful Behavior of any of your Subjects.

And tho there are some who wou'd fain have your Majesty look upon *the Church to be a good part of the Property* of your Subjects, and believe that 'tis generally taken to be so; yet they only thereby discover the great Regard they have to Property, and the little Opinion that they entertain of the Church; which is infinitely debas'd by so mean a Similitude. And it's a sign they don't know much of its Spiritual Nature and Privileges, and of the ways by which they are lost and gain'd, who think that fencing it about by the same Laws with which we defend our Possessions can give it any Security; and desire that it may be equally penal to invade another man's Property, or to dissent from the Church. From the high Value these Men set upon Property,

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party, and the low and confus'd Notion they have of the Church, all wise Men will be apt to conclude that they rather design to make a Property of the Church, than the Church any part of their Property.

Your Majesty will therefore easily perceive, that any Applications which are made to represent the Disloyalty of the Dissenters, and to turn your Displeasure against 'em; if they are not owing to a furious and mistaken Zeal, must proceed either from a Design to create a Suspicion of the Weakness of your Government, to its unspeakable Prejudice, at a time, when its Enemies are boasting of their Strength and Numbers; or to furnish your Enemies with a better opportunity of concerting their Measures without Discovery or Interruption; and at the same time to create a Coolness, if it were possible, in the Affections of some of the truest Friends of your Majesty's Person and Government.

And these Designs some may possibly flatter themselves with the hopes of compassing, by the Tenderneys such Applications have to begot a Diffidence in your Majesty of a faithful Part of your Subjects, and a secret Jealousy in the Dissenters of the Continuance of their Toleration; and to divert your Majesty's Apprehensions and Watchfulness from those who depend upon a Foreign Power, and won't give the

the Securitys the Government requires. If I am for
their dutiful Behavior against the Dissenters, than
are ready to abjure all Foreign Interests, and now
swear to be faithful and true to Yours.

But whatever may be these mens Desires and
Expectations, yet the Dissenters are well satisf'd,
that their Indign'd Obedience and your Majesty's
Wisdom and Goodness will prevent their making
place. They know your Majesty is too exactly
informed of the many ill Effects of the Severitys
us'd against the Dissenters in some late Reigns, and
of the Advantages that accrue from the Mildness
and Clemency of the last. to be ever convinc'd of
the Necessity of keeping a strict hand over
them, in order to Your own Security.

Great Endeavors have indeed been us'd to
alienate your Majesty's Affections from the Dis-
senters, by representing the unhappy Troubles
of the last Age in false Colors, and making
those men Actors in that bloody Tragedy, who
ventured farther in endeavouring to prevent the
Fall of that Royal Head, and early to restore
Your Royal Family during that Impiation, than
any others dur'd to do. And to shew the great
Good-will some men bear the Dissenters, this
bloody Scene is represented afresh, contrary to
the Acts of Grace and Oblivion, that shoud
have bury'd those Times in Silence, and to
the

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the loyal Behavior of the Dissenters, that ought to have procu'd 'em a more honourable mention, from all that pretend to think well of the Revolution, or to wish well to your Majesty's Reign.

But not to wake up your Majesty's time in setting in a true Light, what part the Dissenters acted in those Troubles, of which your Majesty can't be suppos'd to want a just Information; none are to be blam'd for the Extravagancys that were then committed, but they who were concern'd in 'em, or they who abet 'em. And to impute any Faults of the Dissenters of those days to the Dissenters of ours, would not have quite so much Justice in it, as to punish Children for the Iniquity of their Forefathers.

And whoever were the Actors in those Troubles, yet it is certain, as a noble Author, lately introduc'd into Your Presence, has observ'd, that it was straining things too far in Church and State, that rankled mens Minds, and carry'd 'em to those Extremitys; and not any form'd Schema or Set of Principles, or any previous ill Dispositions that were observable in those that engag'd in the Civil War. It was the *Unreasonable, Unskilful, and Precipitate Measures* of the Court, in his Lordship's Opinion, that were the
Source

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Source from whence those Waters of Bitterness did most probably flow. So that 'tis equally improper for any to lament that they have not the power to screw up things to the same pitch again; or to pretend, till they get that Power and exert it, that there is the least Shadow of Danger to a mild and prudent Administration, because the Men of those Times oppos'd the unusual Resolutions of the Court, by Proceedings as much without a Precedent.

It was not the Constitution of the Church of England that Men were at first angry with, but the Fears of Popery that they were under, from the Designs that it was generally thought a great Prelate had to return to the Church of Rome : Nor did they intend the Subversion of the Establishment of the Church, but to oppose the Oppression and Persecution that was either felt or apprehended : Nor was it the Ceremonys of the Church, but the introducing some things which look'd too like Superstition and Prophaneness, that rais'd the Fury in those who had till then conform'd to the Church, which at last ended in the Ruin of its outward Order and some of its Superstructures ; tho its Being and Foundation, the Doctrine of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, the Rock on which the Church of England is built, and its chief Corner-stone, remain'd nevertheless

less unmov'd, thro all the Disorders of those Times.

These are Remarks which the Adversarys of the Dissenters know to be just, and which they are sensible invalidate the Charges brought against 'em from that History. That they may therefore lay a better Foundation of Distrust in your Majesty of their Allegiance and Fidelity, they charge disloyal Principles upon the present Body of the Dissenters; hoping thereby to help out a Fact, which they must needs be conscious is not at all parallel to the present State of Things, and whose Guilt can't belong to the Dissenters now, if it did belong to some Dissenters then.

They wou'd, in order to this, possess your Majesty, that *the Monarchy of England is not now capable of being supported but upon the Principles of the Church of England*, in opposition to those of the Dissenters: and that *the Principles of the Dissenters are directly contrary to Monarchical and Episcopal Government.*

But these Assertions will make no Impression upon your Majesty, who knows that there are no Dissenters from the Principles of the Church of England about Government and Monarchy, except the Non-Jurors. The Monarchy of England at present stands upon the Principles of the late
happy

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happy Revolution, in which all true Churchmen and Dissenters agree. And the only Principles that are dangerous to the Monarchy, as 'tis happily vested in your Majesty, and founded upon the Revolution, are those of Passive Obedience, and the Divine Right of an unalterable Succession in the Right Line. And 'tis the Denial of a *mutual Compact between the Prince and his Subjects*; and the asserting, that the early Death of the late *Queen Mary of ever Glorious Memory*, made [immediate] Room for your Majesty's more Unrestrain'd and Sovereign Authority, that are the Tenents which threaten the Monarchy of England, as it is at present by Law Establish'd. Because 'tis these that prevent the Non-Jurors in both Kingdoms from taking the Oaths to the Government, and strike at the very Root of the Abdication, and the present Settlement of the Crown.

'Tis true, the Dissenters have Principles that are contrary to an Absolute Monarchy, but those only render them better Friends to a Limited One: and 'tis Monarchy after the French, and not after the English Model, that they have constantly declar'd against. They have always indeed too remonstrated against the pretended Obligations to such an Absolute Non-Resistance, and an unlimited Passive Obedience to the Crown, as was utterly inconsistent with the Revolution

Principles, of which 'tis hard to say, whether they are more dangerous by being too weak to bear a Government, or specious enough to tempt Princes to trust to their Support. But in this they have help'd to discover their pernicious Fallacy and Cheat, and have had the Honesty to profess what all others never fail to practise. By doing so, and maintaining Self-preservation to be one of the first and most fundamental Laws of Nature, they have had the Honor to pave the way to your Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown. So that your Majesty has at once an Instance of the Innocence and Usefulness of this Principle, in some of the most Loyal of your Subjects at Home, and of the most hearty of your Allies Abroad, the People of the Cevennois, whom you are graciously pleased to assist in acting agreeably to its full Purport.

But the Dissenters would crave the Liberty to assure your Majesty, that these free Principles, which serve to maintain the just Rights of Humanity, only render them the fitter to be free Subjects; but are so far from carrying 'em to endeavor to introduce a Commonwealth, to the Subversion of the known Constitution of this Kingdom, that they think no Man a greater Enemy to England, a Jacobite only excepted, than a Republican.

What is meant by Episcopal Government, the Dissenters don't so well understand; nor how their Principles can be said to be directly contrary to it. They would hope, that 'tis not made any matter of Accusation against 'em, that they do not believe the Powers of the Bishops to be Independent from the State, or that any Injustice has been done to the Ejected Ones; which are indeed held to be as necessary Tenents by some now-a-days, as any contain'd in our Catechisms. Nor can the Dissenters tell what other meaning this Charge can have, in which they can be concern'd. They believe your Majesty to be Supreme in all Causes Civil and Ecclesiastical. They hold the Order of Bishops to be lawful, tho they do not take it to be Divine. And it may be those, who would gladly irritate your Majesty against the Dissenters, would not be better pleas'd with them, if they should hear them profess a great deal of Veneration for their Lordships Persons, and assure your Majesty, as they might do with the greatest Sincerity, that they think it one of the most valuable Blessings of your Reign, that you have such a Bench of Bishops to summon to Parliament, to advise your Majesty about the great and arduous Affairs of the Kingdom. And since your Majesty has given your Royal Assurances, that You will maintain a To-

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leration granted to their Scruples about taking Orders from a Bishop, according to the present manner of conferring 'em, or about committing themselves to his spiritual Care ; it's to be hop'd none will think it a Crime in the Dissenters, that they use a Liberty, which while their Scruples remain, the Law of God indispensably enjoins, and your Majesty's Government graciously allows.

But if the Principles of the Dissenters were as inconsistent with the Order of Bishops as their Enemy's wou'd represent 'em to be ; yet the Dissenters are satisfy'd, that this wou'd not infer the Conclusion 'tis design'd to suggest, and convince your Majesty of the Disloyalty of the Dissenters ; who find Your Self, by the dutiful Behavior of the Presbyterians of Scotland, so happily convinc'd on the one hand of the Falsity of that fam'd Maxim, No Bishop, No King : And by the ill Conduct of the Episcopal Party there, on the other, that some may be unalterably set upon Bishops, and against their rightful Sovereign at the same time.

Your Majesty will easily acquit the Dissenters from Charges of this nature, which as they are capable of the most satisfactory Answers, so are they supported by no Proof but that of a Fact, which it self has no Evidence of its Truth ; and which if it had, affects none but those single Persons

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XXI.

sens who shall be prov'd to be concern'd in it: I mean the solemnizing of that dismal Thirtieth of January, in Scandalous and Opprobrious Feasting and Jesting. A Rite so barbarous and inhuman, as is the insulting the Memory of a Veturous and Unfortunate Prince, that I wou'd hope none that breath the same Air with your Majesty can be guilty of it; But which the Dissenters know nothing more of than their Accusers, and are more sorry, that there is the least Suspicion of such a Crime's being perpetrated by any of their Countrymen, than their Accusers can be glad, that it serves as a Reproach to any of their Number. If any such Solemnity should be practis'd in secret, the Dissenters hope the Promoters of it will be discover'd: and if it should appear that any of 'em were Dissenters, which is a Suspicion altogether as groundless as they believe 'tis false, yet this cou'd no more argue the Body of the Dissenters guilty of Retaining the *Rebellious Principles of the last Age*, than it cou'd be concluded that all Churchmen were Jacobites, if it shou'd be prov'd, that some of that Body have with the like Barbarity drunk Healths and paid Honors to a couple of Animals, for occasioning the Death of one of the best of Princes.

In the mean while your Majesty will easily observe how justly the Dissenters dread the falling
into

into the hands of those men, who wou'd punish 'em for the Crimes of their Predecessors, and wou'd impute the Iniquity of a Fact without Evidence, and whose Guilt is not so much as suspected to affect any considerable Number, to a whole Body.

Since upon the whole then it appears, that the Dissenters have so many Principles and Interests concurring to secure your Majesty of their Fidelity; and since they have done no Fact, nor hold any Principles that can raise a Distrust of them in your Majesty, They promise themselves, that You will by no means be engag'd either to hinder the Continuance of the Dissenting Assemblies to the next Generation, or to deprive 'em of any Powers and Capacities of serving your Majesty and their Country, which they now enjoy.

The utmost of their Wishes is a farther Advance towards the first design'd Reformation of the Church, which no body pretends is already perfect. And in case they can't obtain this by peaceable and legal Methods, the utmost they desire is a Continuance of the Toleration of their own Religious Societys, in which they think that Reformation is in a good measure obtain'd. If in this they conceive amiss, they hope your Majesty will imitate the great Head of the Church,

Church, and bear with their involuntary Mistake.

This they humbly ask with the greater Confidence, because they are conscious of their unbiass'd Designs to use every Power that shall be continued to 'em, and to exert themselves to the utmost in every Capacity for the Service of your Majesty and their Country. And therefore they hope they may presume, that You will not hearken to a later Author, who wou'd persuade your Majesty to deprive 'em of Opportunitys of Service, which they hope will be ever as useful to your Majesty, as they will be always honorable and agreeable to Them. They have the less reason to be apprehensive of His succeeding with your Majesty, since to the infinite Satisfaction of your People, You have express'd too great a Concern for a general Union among 'em, and know the best Methods to obtain it too accurately, to encourage any Measures, the remote Jealousys and Apprehensions whereof, have more than once caus'd a Ferment and Convulsion, that has reach'd to the most distant Parts of the Kingdom.

The Dissenters beg your Majesty to believe, that 'tis only these Men, who thus misrepresent 'em, and wou'd advise your Majesty to take severe Measures with 'em, that they wou'd oppose
in

in their several Stations; and that more for endeavouring to bring Difficultys and Uneasiness upon your Majesty and the Public, than upon Themselves. And your Majesty, who quickly sees thro the Pretences of those that approach You, will easily discern, that 'tis not any Principles of Disloyalty to your Majesty, but a steddly Adherence to the true Interest of your Majesty and of the Protestant Succession, and to Measures that won't so easily fall in with some mens private Designs, that has rais'd this Cry against em. Had it not been for this, your Majesty might possibly have found their present Accusers their greatest Patrons and Protectors.

May the Almighty, by whom Kings reign and Princes decree Justice, bless your Majesty with the Discernment of an Angel of God: and in order to render your Majesty's Government easy to Your self and a continued Blessing to Your People, vouchsafe to your Majesty the Knowledge of the true Friends and Enemy's of your Person and Government; and grant that You may never trust any one of These, nor distrust any of the Other.

The PREFACE.

THE Cause that the World is now desir'd to give Judgment in, has been more than once publicly and successfully argu'd; and since I pray a Rehearing, 'tis but just that I should have so much deference to Mankind, the Judges to whom I appeal, as not to lodge it before I have suggested those Reasons which induc'd me to draw it up, and to hope that it would not be thought a piece of Impertinence and Presumption to desire a Review.

The Toleration of Dissenters has got so much Credit of late, by the Evidence that has been brought of the Title every one has to it, and the great Advantages it brings along with it to all Governments, that it is become a sort of fundamental Maxim of ours, and an essential Part of the Constitution. Insomuch that an Attempt, which all unbias'd Men took to be made to weaken and impair the Toleration, was prefac'd with a solemn Assurance, that it ought to be inviolably observ'd.

Right and Public Advantage indeed are always Arguments to honest Minds, and engage 'em to pursue every thing that comes under that Representation. But to Party-men, who always act from private views, they only serve as Cautions against a publick Opposition, of that which makes so advantageous an Appearance, and a Hint to pretend to promote it or to oppose it secretly, whenever 'tis necessary, in order to compass their little Ends, to oppose it at all.

And this has been the Reason why some, who find the Dissenters to be a Party that thwart their private Interests, either profess to maintain the Toleration, or don't own any Design to repeal it, at the same time that they discover themselves to discerning Men, to be resolutely bent upon those measures, which will gradually weaken and destroy it.

This Attempt upon the Toleration under a pretence of Friendship, or at least without declaring open War against it,

The Preface.

endangers the Toleration much more than any public Acts of Hostility possibly could; since by these means the Dissenters are lull'd asleep, or are not any ways alarm'd to ward off the Blow.

But since 'tis plain that the Occasional Conformists are only attack'd like a thinner Squadron, that the whole Body of the Dissenters may be the more successfully routed; and that 'tis endeavour'd to deprive them of all Offices, for no other purpose, than that by taking this Outwork of the Toleration, the Fort may be the more easily storm'd; 'tis high time that the Redoubts should be strengthened, and the Avenues well guarded and secur'd.

This is a time when no Man that wishes well to the Toleration of Dissenters, can think it improper to Review the whole of their Case, to be appriz'd of what they hold to be their Obligations, what they claim as their Due, and what they take to be the Interest of their Country in reference to Themselves; and to find proper Arguments and Answers drawn from the general Principles of an absolute and impartial Toleration of all Dissenters, accommodated to the Case of the Occasional Conformists, and to the Exceptions that are made to the Pleas for their Toleration.

And since Sir H. M. has endeavour'd to defeat the Occasional Conformists of the Rights they have to a Toleration, in common with other Dissenters, and pretends that they ought not to be suffer'd to enjoy it; it's but a piece of common Justice to allow the Occasional Conformists to put in their Answer. And there's the more reason for it, since Sir H's Performance has been cry'd up by some interested Men, as a Masterpiece, and incapable of receiving a satisfactory Answer.

What engag'd me too the more to make a Reply to it, was the greater Success this Treatise has met with than Sir H's Bookseller complains his * former one did; which argu'd a great Disposition in some People to receive any Arguments, that were brought on that side the Question, and the want of some Remedy to cure that ill Disposition.

The

* Treatise concerning the Doctrine of the Ever-blessed Trinity: by way of Dialogue.

The Preface.

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The Reader will I hope forgive me, for exceeding the just Bounds of a Pamphlet. But whoever makes fair Quotations from Sir H. M. will quickly swell a Book; and Sir H. not any where determining his Notions, and leaving it to his Reader to fix his meaning from the Design of his Treatise, the Connexion of the Place, or some parallel Passages scatter'd up and down his Book (all of which being consulted, sometimes leave the Difficulty unresolv'd) renders it often necessary to make several Quotations and Deductions to settle the Sense of a single Proposition, which the Answerer is to debate. So that I must needs say, it has been generally more difficult to determine the exact Signification of Sir H's Assertions, than to refute 'em.

However I have endeavour'd to make the Reader amends as well as I cou'd; and therefore, where I was not so certain of Sir H's meaning, I have fix'd that upon his Words, which according to my Apprehensions wou'd best serve his purpose. And I have endeavour'd not only to answer what Sir H. has said, but what might have been said, as a further Proof of what he advances.

That all this was not sooner done and publish'd. (besides its being some considerable time after Sir H's Book appear'd, before that Acceptance which its several Editions in various Forms argue it has met with, cou'd be known, the great reason of my answering it) is owing to some little Accidents of Indisposition and other Interruptions, which 'tis neither worth my while particularly to relate, nor my Reader's to be inform'd of.

ERRATA.

PAG. 17. lin. 6. for Lys, r. Ly. P. 37. l. 21. f. to the contrary, r. of the Inefficacy of every thing but Love and Kindness, and the Efficacy of gentle Methods to convince Mens Minds. P. 47. l. 31. f. 'em, r. it. P. 69. l. 20. f. can be only informing, r. can only inform.

ADVER-

A D V E R T I S E M E N T S.

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Memoirs of Sir *John Berkley*, containing an Account of his Negotiation with Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, Commissary-General *Ireton*, and other Officers of the Army, for restoring King *Charles* the First to the Exercise of the Government of *England*. In which the ill Conduct of that unfortunate Prince, and the Treachery and Hypocrisy of *Oliver Cromwel*, are plainly set forth. All sold by *A. Baldwin* in *Warwick-lane*.

and Chastity, the Peace of Civil and Religious Perfection.
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THE CASE

OF THE DISENTERS

REVIEWED

THERE'S no man that makes the least Reflection on the Persons and Things of his own time, but must necessarily observe with how great eagerness and frequency the Dissenters have been attack'd of late, and with how much reluctance they are brought to reply. I know the Reasons of this Conduct are differently represented, as the Reasons of most Facts are, according to the Interests or Prepossessions of the several Partys. But no body can be justly surpriz'd at this Procedure, who observes, that they who engage in Disputes must be Men of great Leisure and Recels from other Business; and that Disputes themselves prove generally ineffectual to serve the common Interests of Society and Religion, or prejudicial to them both. Controversy generally gives an Edge to Mens Minds and Expressions, and provokes em to break the Tys of Love

The Case of the Dissenters review'd.

and Charity, the Band of Civil and Religious Perfection. It raises too much Passion against our Adversary, and a greater concern for our Selves than for the Truth; and robs us of that Sedateness of Mind, in which alone Truth can maintain its own Empire, or foil the Powers of the Prince of Darkness. So, that whilst Controversy is like to do so little good, and, without a great deal of caution in managing it, so much harm, he must be a very idle Fellow indeed, and be capable of little service otherways, that can be forward to engage in it.

But possibly the Dissenters think, that they had the less Obligation to appear in their own Defence, because they thought their Conduct spoke for it self. And they were more willing the World should see their Innocence express'd in their Actions, than their Apologies and Vindications; and that their Enemys shou'd find their own Mouths stop'd by the Dissenters blameless Behavior, rather than by Recriminations and Answers. And they had flatter'd themselves, that their Conduct must necessarily have acquitted them from the Charges that used to be made against them. For they imagin'd, after they had been more faulty in some Peoples Opinions for supporting a Prince than for disturbing another, their Loyalty would have been call'd again in question. Nor their Charity, after they had so frequently conform'd upon Occasion to the Church of England, at her Invitation to do so; and her Complaint against the Neglect of it. Nor their

- Dr. Stillingfleet, in a Sermon preach'd before the Lord Mayor, entitul'd, The Mischief of Separation, complains, after he had said, that the Dissenters hold Communion with the Church of England in the Liturgy and Sacraments lawfully, and in some Cases a Duty, that they should not join with the Church, in what they themselves think unlawful, and in some Cases a Duty. And complains, that the Preachers keep this Doctrine of the Lawfulness of a Dissenter's joining in the publick Assembly, a secret in their own Breasts. And adds, that if these
- Pag. 21. Pag. 22. §. 4. Pag. 37.
- Preachers

The Case of the Dissenters reviewed

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their Sincerity in this Practice, when 'tis known that they took it up before any Law of Interest could compel them to do so; and that they continue it, when they are told by their Enemies that it must dissolve their Party, and by their Friends, that it can serve none but that of the truly Christian one.

Mr. Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, p. 555. The account of the Lords Proceedings, p. 31.

They thought therefore if these Facts would not justify 'em, it was only because they were not observ'd, or the Reason of 'em not attended to; and that it would be sufficient, if they should just set 'em in a fair Light, to give the World satisfaction. On that at least, Reason would not be heard in the mouth of Partys, it would have its just regard when it came from those impartial Judges, to whom injur'd Justice has its last Resort, who, as all just Judges do, turn'd Advocates in this honest Cause, and pleaded the Rights of the Oppress'd. If they saw their Lordships Defence of 'em would increase the Credit and Authority their Lordships justly stand possess'd of, and needed not the just Opinion the People of England have of 'em, to give their Lordships Reasons their full weight: and that nothing could add to that, unless it were, that others were to fight a more high and trivial. It was said indeed, that if such things went on as they did, the Church would be in danger for the future. For that the Dissenters had been seditious, and that they continu'd to be Schismatics; and had of late Hypocritically found out a Practice, that was equally inconsistent with the Laws and their own

Memorial, wherein it was said: nam a totius Christiani
 Preachers would acquit themselves like honest and conscientious men, they must tell the People plainly, that they look on our Churches as Lawful Churches. This is a very particular Invitation to Dissenters, and already Complaints are made for this purpose. It is the Fault of these People's neglect of it: Which by the way is a strange Charge for the Doctor to make against the Preachers, when he had but just quoted a Book of theirs, that positively declar'd it to be unlawful. nam a totius Christiani
 I have made no mention of this

Vol. 2. p. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

P. 30, 56. Pag. 22.

The Case of the Dissenters debated.

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Principles. Wherein it was shew'd, that the Dissenters ought to be incapacitated of all Offices, for the security of the Church: Especially since they might be incapacitated, without giving the Church one Advantage it had not, or without depriving the Dissenters of one they had. For that as restraining Dissenters from Offices was manifestly design'd by the Corporation and Test Acts, so that Restraint was not remov'd by the Act of Toleration, nor desir'd by the best of the Dissenters themselves. But how Specious (soever these Objections might appear at first, the Dissenters thought they cou'd not remain so, after it had been advanc'd in answer. That the Church was in no present danger, and but in an imaginary one for the future. Which might be the more justly asserted, since the Church had been secure and flourishing for many Years, in the condition in which it is at present, without any new Security. That since the Dissenters were tolerated, they cou'd not be thought Schismatics: And that if they had been Seditious, 'twas when Persecution had made them open Enemies. But that as their Independence from foreign Power, and the Smallness of their Numbers compar'd with that of the Church, look'd 'em from being dangerous, so gentler Methods had made 'em true Friends to the Government both in Church and State. That Occasional Conformity was a Practice antienter than the Test Act, tho' it was but of late that any Objections had been made against it: And that it was not inconsistent for a man that cou'd conform in some Instances, to have a weak and a scrupulous Conscience, that wou'd not let him conform in others. Hence they infer'd, that it wou'd be unreasonable to disturb the Publick Peace in so critical a Juncture; and that since a Toleration had done Service to Church and State, it ought to be preserv'd and strengthen'd rather than endanger'd and impair'd. That if the Bill made no Alteration to

*See the
Lords Pro-
ceedings
upon the Oc-
casional
Conformity
Bill.*

The Case of the Dissenters' Rights.

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to the prejudice of the Dissenters, is would be reflected
 and if it did, it would be hard to punish Men for going
 to a Meeting, which at the Law stands is no Crime.
 That the Corporation Act could not be pleaded as a
 Precedent for this, because the Circumstances of the
 Things made it widely different. And that this Bill
 would not be said to oblige the best, and disoblige only the
 worst among the Dissenters, unless they were the worst
 among the Dissenters who were nearest to the Church,
 and they the best who were at the greatest distance.

Thus Imaginary Dangers of the Church and Old Crimes
 of the Dissenters have been set forth at large, in order to
 justify the Conduct of those who would have incapacitated
 them of all Employments. Whilst the noble Parsons
 raised up by Providence for their Defence, whom the
 World has so much reason to rely upon, and so little to
 suspect; have given us the real Advantages of Church and
 State, and the late Behavior of the Dissenters, as the rea-
 sons of taking them under their Protection. A greater
 Advantage in arguing can hardly be supposed, whether
 we consider the Abilities of the Disputants, or the Issue
 of the Dispute. And since such an entire Defeat of the
 best Forces and Auxiliary that could be brought out by the
 other side, has only gained the Dissenters and Moderate
 Churchmen a Truce, till the Forces could rally again,
 no such lasting Advantage can be expected from an Encoun-
 ter between two single Combatants; tho' Truth and Sincere-
 ness should decide our Side. However since we are not only
 challenged by a Champion of the other Party, but urged
 by the Friends of our own; and since, tho' it is scarce to
 be hoped that Victory could procure Peace, yet that Si-
 lence might be thought to betray Cowardice so we think
 ourselves obliged to enter the Lists, that if we can serve
 to better a purpose, we may at least prevent our Adver-
 saries from selling the World, that we have given up the
 Cause

Their Cause by the Dissenters reviewed

Cause of Toleration or other like making the confession to suspect we have believed as far as we know it; bib ii 18 has
In order to this, it may possibly be worth the while to take a summary view of what the Dissenters have advanced in their own Defence, and what Exceptions have been made to and before we consider what has been alledged against them. And under the first head we shall take a short view of the Reasons of their Dissent from the Establish'd Church, of their Occasional Conformity, of the Right they have, and the Interest the Government has in their Toleration.
The Reasons of their stated Dissent amount to this, that the Worship due to God, being the Payment of that Honour which is due from a reasonable Creature to his Maker; must be such, as the reasonable Creature thinks fit to do that relation; and which he thinks will be acceptable when 'tis paid. To give God either what we think would be unacceptable; or less acceptable than something else that is in our Power to perform, would be to offer him an Affront instead of Homage; and must procure his Resentment instead of his Acceptance. And as our worship God aright is to surmount Atheism; so not to worship him in the manner which we think will please him best, is to become as much worse than an Atheist, as to outrage and insult the Deity is before him to neglect it. Whence it follows, that whilst the Dissenters think their way of Worship more acceptable to God, than that establish'd by Law; 'tis impossible for them not to remain Dissenters; unless they turn Atheists, and not worship God at all; or Hypocrites, and not worship him in that which they believe to be the most acceptable manner.

The Case of the Dissenters reviewed.

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by Law, or not. For supposing them to be mistaken, whilst they act as honest Men, they must act according to their own Apprehensions. He's indeed a wise Man, whose Apprehensions are free from Mistakes: But no man can act as an honest Man, and a good Christian, who acts contrary to his Apprehensions, be they just or mistaken. But the Dissenters think they are not without Reason to support their Opinion neither: Their Dissent includes two things; a Separation from the Establish'd Church, and joining themselves to other Christian Societys. And they think it is a part of the Duty they owe to their Maker to do both. For they take it to be an Instance of the Honor due to Jesus Christ their Lord and Lawgiver, to separate from a Church, which abridges 'em of any Liberty he has allow'd, or allows 'em any which he has forbid; or in which they are not likely to meet with the earliest Conversions of any Fault that Church may be guilty of, in either of these respects; or to be in the greatest readiness to comply with all Attempts towards a further Reformation. And as they think it their indispensable Duty to separate from such a Church, so they think they have an

equal

** Left the Case in which this is asserted, should make it suspected to be Heterodox, I won't be leave to quote the words of a very judicious and most reverend Prelate, in a Discourse concerning Conscience in Querry: Where a Man, says he, is mistaken in his Judgment, even in that Case it is always a Sin to act against it. Tho we should take that for a Duty which is really a Sin, yet so long as we are thus persuaded, it will be highly criminal in us to act in contradiction to this Persuasion. And the reason of this is evident, because by so doing, we actually act against the best Light, which at present we have for the direction of our Actions. So that when all is done, the immediate Guide of our Actions can be nothing but our Conscience, our Judgment and Persuasion. And he adds a little after: If a Papist should renounce the Communion of the Roman Church, and join with ours, whilst yet he is persuaded the Roman Church is the only Catholick Church, and that our Reformed Churches are Heretical or Schismatical; tho now there is none of us that will deny that the Man in this Case has made a good Change, as having chang'd a false Religion for a true one; yet for all that, I dare say, we should all agree to call him a great Villain, for making that change, because he made it not upon honest Principles, and in pursuance of his Judgment; but in direct contradiction to both*

Pag. 18.

equal

The Case of the Dissenters review'd.

equal Obedience to join with those Churches, which are not liable to these Complaints; and where they are likely besides to meet with what they take to be the most proper means to increase their Christian Knowledge and Vertue, and to labor under the fewest Defects.

I. The Dissenters think it necessary to separate from a Church, which has so many unnecessary Rites and Ceremonys; to assert their Freedom from all *human Impositions*, which they take to be an Encroachment on the Divine Right our Lord and Saviour has to give Laws to his Church, and an Interment upon the Libertys of his Subjects, an Alteration of Religion, and a Constituting something else necessary to please God, besides that which he has made so. And they take themselves to be more strongly oblig'd to assert their Liberty against some Impositions than against others; inasmuch as some, in their Opinion, are not only novel and fantastical, but *Corrupt* too. To instance in both these Cases: To enact, that no Man shall receive the Sacrament, unless he *abuels*, is an Usurpation upon Mens Consciences, and an Authority no Commission can be produc'd to support*. But to wrest any Powers by Ecclesiastical By-Laws out of Hands where God has lodg'd 'em, either in Familys, or in Churches, and particular Church-Officers, is in their Opinion too like actual Rebellion, and setting up a Jurisdiction directly Opposite to his.

II. The Dissenters think the Reformation of Faith and Worship from all the Innovations and Corruptions, which the Fancys and Interests of Men have introduc'd, the most glorious Work of these latter Ages. They envy their

* Note, That complying now and then with an Ecclesiastical Usurpation is *Things indifferent*, is not complying with the Principle upon which such Usurpation is founded. See this more particularly explain'd, p. 13. where the Consistency of Occasional Conformity, with this reason of Separation, is shew'd more at large.

Forefathers the Honor of having set it on foot, and are not so ambitious of any thing, as of carrying on what they began to a greater perfection, and of imitating their happy Spirit, in removing those things, in order to win upon Protestant Dissenters, which their Ancestors suffer'd to remain, only to bring over the Roman Catholics. And since the Dissenters can't think the *Reformation Perfect*, they think themselves oblig'd to separate from a Church, in which they were to be prevented by an Oath from endeavoring after any Alterations. Neither wou'd they so much as suffer their Eyes to be blinded, and a Veil to be drawn over the Blemishes of the Church by its Emoluments and Honors: Nor to be directed to the Laws of Men as its Rule and Standard, rather than to the Laws of God; nor their Hands to be cramp'd, and ty'd up by the Restrictions of human Orders; from acting agreeably to the Light they shou'd receive: That will shine the clearest, if we follow the Advice of the Arabian Proverb, and if in order to see, we shut the Windows, Truth will then be the purest and the freest from mixtures of Passion and Interest, if we resolve to exclude the views of Worldly Honors and Privileges, and consult the Reasonings of our own Consciences, upon the Principles that Nature or Revelation affords us.

III. The Dissenters think these Reasons oblige them by a direct and an immediate consequence to separate from the Establish'd Church, and *imply* their Obligation to join with other Churches; since they cannot without a manifest Disobedience to their Lord, and a loss of several Privileges that are not to be had out of Religious Societies, live without entering into some Religious Society or other.

IV. But the Immediate Obligation that lies upon 'em to do so, in their opinion arises from hence, that their Churches have some spiritual Advantages, which the Church of England wants. For since nothing can do

The Case of the Dissenters review'd.

God more honor than a serious Endeavor to become knowing and vertuous; and since 'tis a much more likely way to become so, to choose their own Teachers, than to have them impos'd upon 'em by another, they think 'tis most highly reasonable, that they shou'd join with Churches, whose Constitution allows of such a *Choice*. For no Man can be so capable to judg who informs another the best of the Truth; and of his Obligations, and animates him the most to a correspondent Life and Conversation, as he is himself; and when a Man chooses his Teacher, he may be sure that he is disinterested in his Choice; whereas he can't be sure, when another chooses for him, that the other has no separate Interest to serve from his: And he can't but be sure, that the other does not know the Methods that are so proper to serve his spiritual Interests, so well as he does himself. Because that does not depend intirely upon the Abilitys of the Preacher, of which another might judg as well as he; but upon the Proportion they bear to his Capacity, which none can judg of but himself, who knows his own Capacity, as well as the Ability of the Preacher, and the Suitableness of the one to the other.

V. But God has appointed Reproof and Correction, as a proper means to a Holy Life, as well as Exhortation and Instruction. But this Advantage they think is in a manner wholly wanting in the Establish'd Church; tho Discipline is as necessary to a well order'd Church, as Administration of Justice is to a good Government. Whether the Defect of this due Discipline in the Church, be owing to the want of good Orders, or of a good Constitution to execute them, or to both, is not material. The Defect of a godly Discipline is acknowledg'd and lamented by the Church; and the Dissenters hope, restor'd by them. If it be not, the fault they are sure is in themselves, and not in their Churches, by whose Rules and

Con-

The Case of the Dissenters review'd.

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Constitutions it may be attain'd. And this being a compliance with the Church infinitely more conducive to the Ends of a Religious Society, which is the holy Lives of its Members, than any compliance with Ceremonys, or subjection to the Order of Bishops can be, which are not necessarily conducive to that end; the Dissenters hope erecting Churches of their own, is both more necessary, and a greater compliance with the Church, than their Conformity cou'd be. So that upon the whole, 'tis to maintain the Liberty of a Christian, and the Purity of Christian Worship, that the Dissenters separate from the Establish'd Church; and both by consequence from these, and more immediately for greater Improvements, and a godly Discipline, that they unite in religious Confederacys among themselves.

Upon these Principles some of the Dissenters think they ought not only to enter into Religious Confederacys among themselves, but to *separate* from the Church *Intirely* and *at All Times*. It wou'd be foreign to our present Design to enquire whether that be the just Consequence of these Principles: but every Man must judge of Principles and Consequences for himself; and he that thinks the Conclusion from these Premises to be an obligation to a total and constant Separation from the Church, can't join with her in any part of Worship, at any time, without acting a dishonest part, and refusing to follow his Judgment, the Immediate Guide that God has appointed to all his Actions. Whether the Dissenter that constantly and totally separates from the Church, acts according to his Judgment, and whether he did all he could to inform his Judgment, is no Man's business to judge and determine: And he only that has a Right to judge him, or that can do it, is the Lord.

The Case of the Dissenters review'd.

I. But there are others among the Dissenters, who think, that tho they are oblig'd by virtue of these Principles to join with separate Christian Societys, yet that they ought to join with the Church of England in some parts of her Worship, upon some Occasions too: Because they think the Church of England a Good and a Lawful Church, tho she is Defective and Redundant; and tho they think their own Churches Preferable, and the Best. They think the Churchmen too guilty of introducing some Impositions and Superfluities, and of allowing several Defects in the Church, which if they should be guilty of, would be Sins against their Consciences in them. Yet they believe great numbers of the Churchmen to be among the visible Saints on Earth, and that they will make a good part of the Church of the First-born in Heaven. For they have the same Charity for the Churchmen, which they desire the Churchmen to exercise in their regard; and believe that to be but Inconsiderateness and Mistake in their Brethren, which wou'd in their Opinion be a formal Usurpation of God's Authority, an Oppression of his Subjects, and a design'd Neglect of Religion in themselves. The Parts of Worship therefore, in which the Dissenters can join with the Church and the Churchmen, are those which they do not condemn, either as Faults in the Church, or Mistakes in the Churchmen, or as what wou'd be Sins against Conscience in themselves; and from which by consequence they don't separate: And the Occasions of conforming are those, in which they can do the Church, or their Country, or Religion any Service. And since 'tis a necessary Character of an honest Man to act according to his Principles, and that some Dissenters have these, they cou'd not possibly act like honest Men, if they did not *Statedly Dissent, and Partially and Occasionally conform.*

II. And as these Principles necessarily oblige 'em to do so, so they don't see that any of *their* other Principles forbid

The Case of the Dissenters review'd.

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bid 'em to do it. They think indeed the two last of the Reasons of their Separation, oblige 'em to enter into Religious Societys of their own; but that the two former don't oblige 'em never to join with the Church, but only in those things, which they condemn, and in which they separate. They can therefore never join in any Impositions, Corruptions, or Defects of the Church; but this does not hinder 'em from joining in other Parts of the Establish'd Worship, which are not faulty in these Respects. As for instance, the Reasons that are given for a Separation from the Church, don't make it unlawful for a Dissenter to receive the Lord's Supper kneeling; kneeling being a Posture at that Solemnity perfectly indifferent, and which they may therefore use if they think fit. Nor does the Imposition alter its nature, and of an indifferent one make it unlawful. But all that the Imposition operates, is, that it self being in the opinion of the Dissenters an unlawful Action, must debar them from joining in it, concurring to it, abetting it, and giving it any countenance; which constant receiving of the Sacrament kneeling in their Opinion wou'd do, and an occasional receiving of it in the same Posture does not. It being therefore the Imposition of a thing indifferent that an Occasional Conformist separates from, and not the indifferent thing impos'd, 'tis only from the former he must constantly separate, but not at all times from the latter. And as this general Rule may be easily drawn from this Instance, 'twill not be difficult to the Reader to form Parallel Rules to this, in the other cases.

From hence 'tis easy, with great Submission, to observe the *Mistake* of those who assert, that the Occasional Conformists conform to that from which they dissent, and condemn themselves in that which they allow, and are guilty of a wilful Sin. Since 'tis Impositions, Corruptions and Defects, they separate from and condemn, and

*Sir H. M's
Peace at
Home, B.
P. 6. S. 5, 6.*

this.

and only join upon occasion with an indifferent thing impos'd. And with Sir H. M.'s leave. 'Conforming and Non-conforming are not Contradictions,' unless it be Conforming and Non-conforming to the very same things, and at all times. But to Conform to some things, and at some times, and to Dissent from other things, and at other times, is a Practice that contradicts it self no more than to eat Flesh, and not to eat Flesh. And I suppose a Man who liv'd in a Popish Country might eat Flesh on a Wednesday and Friday constantly at his own House, and Fish sometimes upon those days at his Neighbour's, without a Self-contradiction. And that a believing Corinthian might eat Meats offer'd to Idols at an Idolater's private Table, if it was not notify'd to him that they were Meats offer'd to Idols, and might not eat 'em if it was, without being a living Absurdity.

III. And as the Dissenters think Occasional Conformity upon these accounts to be a Practice built upon the Belief of the Communion of Saints, and enjoin'd by the Rule of Charity, and to be highly consistent with their own Principles, so they think it warranted by *Apostolical Example*. For St. Paul held Communion Statedly with Societys of converted Gentiles, who had no terms of Communion but the terms of Salvation; and Occasionally with the Establish'd Church of the Jews, whose Constitution and Worship was widely different from those Societys. For tho the converted Jews reform'd from the Doctrines, yet they retain'd the unnecessary Ceremonys and Constitution of the Jewish Church. Which being enjoin'd by God but for a term of time, which was then expir'd, became indifferent things in their own nature; but were impos'd by the Governors of the Jewish Church; and made so necessary by their Imposition, that the Churches with whom St. Paul did statedly communicate, were held Schismatical Assemblies for the neglect of 'em. And yet notwithstanding
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this Stated Dissent of St. Paul from the Establish'd Church, he did Partially Conform himself; and advis'd others to do the like upon all occasions, 'where the Jewish Church or the Gospel could be serv'd by it. Till therefore it can be prov'd that the Establish'd Church of the Reform'd Jews, and the Dissenting Assemblys of the Reform'd Gentiles don't bear a proportion to the Establish'd and Dissenting Churches in England; or that the Reasons of St. Paul's stated Dissent and Occasional Conformity don't bear an exact proportion to the stated Separation and Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters, They desire to be excus'd, if they take this to be an Apostolical Example, which they are oblig'd to imitate, tho there be a thousand other disproportions and differences betwixt 'em.

The Dissenters can't forbear thinking too, that the *Occasional Non-conformity* of a Church-man is founded *mutatis mutandis* on the same Principles with the Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters; and will, according to the Rule of Contraries, serve to illustrate and prove each other. They can't but believe that a Church-man who thinks the Churches of Dissenters good and lawful, and the Church of England the best, ought whilst he thinks so to communicate Occasionally with the Dissenters, and Statedly with the Church: And that this Practice is an inevitable consequence from these Principles, and supported by Apostolical Example too. St. Peter, a stated Communicant with the Jewish Church establish'd by Law, reform'd from Jewish Doctrines, but not at all from the Jewish Ceremonys and Constitution; did Communicate upon Occasion with separate Assemblys of Reform'd Gentiles, who were for some time held Schismatical, because they would not suffer the Ceremonys nor Constitution of the Jewish Church to be impos'd upon 'em, tho mightily urg'd to receive 'em by the Governors of the Reform'd Jewish

Jewish Church. And the Dissimulation and Hypocrisy that St. Paul charg'd upon St. Peter, was not that he was an Occasional Nonconformist, but that he was afraid to continue one. He did not blame him for that before certain Jews came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles : but that when they came, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing those of the Circumcision.

Gal. 2. 12.

And there are yet others which lie between these two, and are something like Diogenes, who would not be made a Citizen of Athens by certain peculiar Rites, because he was a Citizen of the World. These Men think neither the Church nor Meetings Unlawful, or Preferable one to the other. They think Orders equally valid that are given by Bishops, Presbyters, or a Congregation: and 'tis indifferent to them, whether they pray by a Form or without. When they have Communion with any Church, 'tis with that Church as 'tis a part of the Catholick one; and it's of no importance to them by what little Peculiarities each of these parts has differenc'd it self from the rest. They take none of the Differences to be either Sinful or Divine; and think Religion and true Piety may be alike promoted by 'em all. And according to these Principles, they frequent the Communion of Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches, *Indifferently*, as Circumstances and Occasions happen to determine and invite. In which they act too as correspondent to their Principles as either of the former.

IV. And after all the Clamors that have been made, against Occasional Conformity and Occasional Non-conformity, the Dissenters believe, when Bigotry and private Interest abate, which have rais'd and given strength to the Cry, and a serious Concern for Truth shall take place, it will appear to be as *Lawful* and as *Consistent* for a Churchman sometimes to go to a Meeting, and for a Dissenter sometimes to go to Church, as for a Churchman to go some-

sometimes to a Cathedral, and sometimes to a Parish Church; sometimes to a Church subject to its Ordinary, and sometimes to one that is exempt from Episcopal Jurisdiction. For if the Unlawfulness and Inconsistency of Occasional Conformity and Occasional Non-conformity lies in this, that the different ways of Worship in Parish Churches and Meetings not being uniform, 'tis a Contradiction sometimes to worship God in one, and sometimes in the other; then 'tis equally unlawful to go sometimes to a Cathedral, and sometimes to a Parish Church, because the manner of Worship in Parish Churches and Cathedrals is not uniform neither. Or if it ly in this, that Meetings and Churches not being subject to the same Episcopal Jurisdiction, 'tis denying one Sunday what a man asserts another; then 'tis equally unlawful to go sometimes to a Church subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, and sometimes to one that's exempt from it, since they are no more subject to the same Episcopal Jurisdiction, than a Church and a Meeting. Or if it ly in this, that the Ministers that officiate in Churches and Meetings, have not both of them Orders from Bishops: neither is that Fact true, for some of the Dissenting Ministers have had Orders from Bishops; nor is the Reason just, because that it is not held lawful to communicate occasionally with those Dissenting Churches, whose Pastors have been Episcopally ordain'd. If it be said that there's a difference between worshipping God sometimes in a Church, and sometimes in a Meeting, and between worshipping him occasionally in a Cathedral and in a Parish Church, in a Church subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction and in a Peculiar; because Cathedrals and Parish Churches, whether subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, or exempt from it, are all of 'em establish'd by Law, that is, have certain Privileges granted 'em by the Act of Uniformity. The Dissenters reply, that if that be all the difference, 'twill be still equally lawful to go some-

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times to a Church and sometimes to a Meeting; since the Dissenting Meetings have certain Immunities and Privileges granted 'em by the Act of Toleration.

V. In fine, the Dissenters don't only think Occasional Conformity, and Occasional Nonconformity lawful and consistent, both consider'd in themselves, and compar'd with the practice of those, who raise the great Objections against it; but think it the *likeliest Expedient*, as the Case is at present stated, to root out Party in the State and Bigotry in the Church. Since it opens a door into Employments to several honest Dissenters, and leaves it open to several moderate Churchmen; 'tis to be hop'd, the Government having a Liberty to employ 'em, will not prefer merely a Churchman, but an honest Man that is fit for the Post, be he Churchman or Dissenter. And 'tis to be hop'd too, that the common sort, who are often more led by Example than Principle, will conclude, when they see the best Men go both to Church and Meetings, that Religion does not consist in going to either (as 'tis to be fear'd too many at present think) but in Faith in Jesus Christ, and the essential Duties of Love to God and our Neighbour.

VI. And whatever has made Men inveigh so much of late against Occasional Conformity, as a Practice more prejudicial to the Church than going constantly to a Meeting, or never worshipping God publicly at all; yet it was formerly thought an Expedient that would ruin the Dissenting Interest, and be *highly serviceable to the Church*. Dr. Stillingfleet in the Places quoted before, after he had complain'd of the Dissenters for neglecting Occasional Conformity, and of their Preachers for not pressing it as a Duty, as the Cause of that neglect, and charg'd them to exhort their Hearers to it for the future, as they wou'd act like honest Men; adds, that he does not question, but in time, if they find Conformity lawful, they will judge it to be their Duty. A very learned Prelate has observ'd, that this

has happen'd so in fact; and that after St. Bartholomew in 62. Occasional Conformity was a step that carry'd many much further; and from Occasional Conformity grew to constant Conformity, if not in the Persons themselves, yet in their Children. And this is a Fact that Sir H. the great Advocate for a Bill to prevent this Practice, does not pretend to deny: tho'tis too great an Objection against the Bill to so great a Churchman as Sir H. for a mere turn to answer, if he cou'd have deny'd the Fact it self. And no wonder Occasional Conformity shou'd have this effect; since, to wave all other Reasons, the generality of Men are for taking things in gross, and accounting them altogether and at all times good, or altogether and at all times bad: And are impatient, if not incapable, of attending to those Circumstances, that make one Action different from another that's of a like kind, or the same Action in appearance one while and in this respect lawful, and another while and in another respect sinful.

Proceedings of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, p. 37.

B. p. 9. §. 3.

Whether the Dissenters have taken due care to inform themselves of the Points in dispute, and whether they are sincere in their Dissent, must be left to the Judgment of the great Day, when the secrets of all Hearts shall be reveal'd; and whether they are mistaken must be left to every man after serious Consideration to determine. But if the Dissenters are mistaken, these are the Grounds of their Mistakes. And if we believe 'em to be honest men, we must believe, that their Dissent is not mere Humor, nor Stubbornness, as it can't be Interest. And I'm sorry that Sir H. M's Charity is at so much a lower an ebb than Dr. Stillingfleet's was some years since, as to imagine that it is; and that he has so mean an Opinion of their Sense as well as of their Grace, as to think 'em thro' Stubbornness to be wanting to their Interest, as well as to their Obligations. I wou'd

B. p. 6. §. 3.

Dr. Stillingfleet's Unreasonable-ness of Separation, p. 16.

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hope few are of Sir H's mind, and that the Generality think their Dissent rather owing to the Weakness of their Judgment, than the Refractoriness of their Wills: as Sir H. himself does in another place, when he had either more tenderness for the Dissenters, or more caution, and regard to his own Reputation. And if this be the Case of the Dissenters, the Duty of all Men towards 'em, is to use their charitable Endeavours to convince 'em, and to remove these the Grounds of their Mistakes: and which is yet more charitable, to bear with these Mistakes, if such Endeavors shou'd not succeed. For supposing that the Dissenters are in the wrong, and shou'd remain so, yet they think they have an unquestionable Right to be *Tolerated* in common with all other peaceable Men, and so far in particular, as their Mistakes can't be either very great or fatal to others, or themselves.

A Toleration is the Exemption of a peaceable Man, who is thought to be mistaken in matters of Religion, from all sorts of Penaltys and Force: And all Mistakes both real and suppos'd are peaceable ones, that are not injurious to our Civil Interests. And by Civil Interests we mean, the enjoyments of Life, Health, Liberty, Riches, Reputation, Relations, &c. and their Security from the Injurys of our Fellow-Citizens, and from a Foreign Power. The Penaltys and Force which a Toleration exempts peaceable mistaken Men from, signify the depriving a Man of any Privilege, or the inflicting of any corporal or pecuniary Punishment, or note of Disgrace: So that the Toleration a Protestant Dissenter lays claim to, is an Exemption of him from any harm the Law protects every innocent Englishman from, and a securing him in those Rights, which innocent Men enjoy. A Toleration is no Toleration that is not absolute and impartial. And they who restrain a Toleration to some sort of peaceable Dissenters, and exempt them only from some sorts and degrees of Penaltys,

nality, instead of tolerating, persecute all other peaceable Dissenters, and so far even those whom they pretend to tolerate too. But the Toleration we speak of, signifies the Exemption of all peaceable Dissenters; and an Exemption of them from the Loss of any Privilege, and the inflicting any Hardship, the least as well as the greatest.

And in this I think I have the good Fortune to find Sir H. *agreeing with me* in some places of his Book and Preface; particularly where he describes a Toleration of Dissenters as he is. A Liberty given 'em to follow their respective Trades, and to enjoy their Libertys and Propertys, without being disturb'd by Prosecutions for Conscience sake only. And a little before, where he seems to describe the State of Persecution of Dissenters by 'their liability to Penalties, and their Toleration by 'an Exemption from all Temporal Punishment. And we may learn what Sir H. means by the temporal Punishments and Penalties, which a Toleration exempts Dissenters from, and what Libertys and Propertys it secures the enjoyment of, by seeing what he grounds a Toleration upon, and for what end 'tis design'd. 'Tis grounded upon 'the Freedom of Man's Mind, and the inefficacy of every thing to prevail upon it, but what is introduc'd by Love and Kindness, and upon the futility of gentle Methods to attain this End. And what are these gentle Methods? why according to Sir H. they are three: 1. Reasons, p. Ar-
guments, (which Sir H. is pleas'd to make two) and 2. a good Example. Therefore Sir H. undoubtedly by Penalties and Temporal Punishments, means all Penalties and Temporal Punishments; and by Security of Liberty and Property, means a Security of all Libertys and Propertys. For there's no Penalty nor Temporal Punishment of any kind whatsoever, nor the loss of any Liberty or Property whatsoever, that can be thought to be of Force and Kindness, or gentle Methods, or Reasons, or Arguments, or a good

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good Example. So that Sir H. in these Places, where he talks more professedly about a Toleration than in any other, by a Toleration means the security of all the Libertys and Propertys of a Dissenter, and the exemption of him from all sorts and degrees of Punishments otherwise.

Nay to shew how large Sir H's general Notions of a Toleration are, and the particular Application of these Notions to his own case, he supposes this general Principle, that all Degrees of Reproach, even those that deserve no severer a Name than indecent Reflections upon a Man for his sincere and humble Opinion, are Persecutions for Conscience sake. For having said, 'That if any Person, instead of bringing Reasons and Arguments, shall run out into indecent Reflections on the Writer, he shall desire him to apply on this Occasion a short Saying, Didicit ille maledicere, &c. condemnere.'

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He adds, 'That he may be confident (I suppose 'tis upon the just Awe he presumes every one will have of falling under the insupportable Burden of his Contempt) that no Persons will deny him the same Indulgence, which they are so ready to grant to every one else, and that therefore he shall never be persecuted for Conscience sake only.'

I know there is scarce any Part of the rest of Sir H's Book but may be brought to shew, that Sir H's Notions of a Toleration are not so large as these. But tho I can't answer them, possibly Sir H. at his leisure may; and shew us how these Passages agree with a thousand others, and with the whole design of his sincere Treatise. But since we have so full a proof, that this is Sir H's notion of a Toleration in those places, where he lays down the general notion of a Toleration, and the particular notion of that, according to which he desires to be dealt with himself; I hope till Sir H. shall recant these Passages, which are so full and positive to our purpose, he will forgive my
Vanity

Vanity (who aim so much to be of his mind) in asserting that the Notion of a Toleration, which he lays down in several Places of his Book, agrees with mine; and I hope he'll forgive my Freedom, in desiring him to take the trouble at his leisure to shew how he agrees with himself.

I. Having thus explain'd the meaning of a Toleration by the help of some Passages in Sir H's Treatise, we reconsider what the Dissenters advance to prove a Right which belongs to all Mankind, and particularly to themselves. To prove that a Toleration is the indefeasible Right of all peaceable Dissenters: they allow, that no Man can help believing what he thinks is true, and every Man is bound to worship God in that way, which he thinks the best; and that no Man should be punished for that which he can't, or which he ought not to help. And I suppose this is what Sir H. means, when he tells us, that nothing can be more free than the Mind of Man, and that nothing can prevail upon it, but what is introduced by Love and Kindness; upon which account he says, he has been always for a Toleration.

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II. But if it were in a Man's power to believe what he would; which is as great an absurdity as can be suppos'd, yet he'd have a Right to be tolerated. Because no Man has any Authority; either to oblige another by a Law to believe any speculative Article, or to approve of any particular Mode of Worship, or else to undergo a Penalty. The Magistrate has no such Authority, because his Province extends no farther than the Lives, Libertys and Propertys of Mankind in general; and of his Subjects in particular, but can't reach to any points of Faith and Worship: which as they are not the Ends of Civil Society, can't be the matter of the enacting part of any Law. Nor has the Church any such Authority, since her Power don't extend to Mens Lives, Libertys, and Propertys, which must be affected by the Penalty of a Law. Nor have

have they both together such a Power? For the Church has no Power to make any such Article, since she has no Legislative Authority; and is restrain'd barely to the Execution of those Laws our Lord has left us; and to the Execution of them only over her own Members. Or if the Church had such a Power, the Magistrate could have none to give them a Sanction, by affixing a Penalty to them; which must affect Mens Lives, Liberties or Properties, for the sake of Points of Faith and Worship.

III. But that no such Authority is lodg'd any where, is further evident. Because Penalties, which are the Sanctions of all Laws, are wholly *ineffectual to convince the Mind*, that that Article of Faith is true, or that that manner of Worship is the best, which they are design'd to enforce. Penalties can only restrain and deter Men; but they are wholly improper and ineffectual to persuade or convince. 'Tis only a Connexion between Ideas, and the Evidence of that Connexion, that can convince. But where's the Connexion between the Truth of a Proposition, and the Penalty a Man must undergo, who don't believe it? Or is it a consequence that such a Proposition is true, because, for example, I must lose my Estate, if I believe it to be false? And the Evidence of a Penalty are two Ideas, which can no more be join'd together, than the Light of a Cat of nine-tails, or the Colour of a Smell, or the Sound of Scarlet.

IV. And if it could be thought, that an Authority to enforce Articles of Faith and Worship were lodg'd any where, and that Force was a proper means to convince the Mind, yet would not such an Authority be *useless to Mankind*. For it could not serve to propagate the Truth, because tho' the Men in whom such an Authority was lodg'd, might by the virtue of such an Authority propagate their own Opinion; yet unless they were infallible, they cou'd not be secure of propagating the Truth. Nay, such

such a Power vested in the Magistrate or in the Church, must necessarily hinder the Propagation of Truth instead of promoting it, since there are infinitely more Churches and Magistrates in the Wrong than in the Right. The glorious French Example of Henry the Third, that Sir H. (to his Honor be it remember'd, with the other French Precedents he follow'd in his Address to K. James) proposes as a Pattern of promoting Truth for her Majesty to follow, cou'd only have promoted the worst of Errors, the Infallibility of Popish Tenets, and a Right to persecute all that don't hold 'em. Sure the way to propagate Truth and Error can't be the same; nor can Truth ever be maintain'd by means, that will equally serve to establish Falshood. The way by which Christianity at first spread it self, and upon which the Reformation is founded, is, that every Man shou'd judg freely of Truth for himself, and that no Man shou'd judg of it for another. And one wou'd think this had been a Precedent more worthy of her Majesty and Sir H. than a Practice, that's the greatest Support of Slavery and a false Religion. And till this Principle shall obtain more universally, we must not wonder that so few Nations in the World, and so very few in those Nations are either Votarys to Truth themselves, or deserve the glorious Character of being its Witnesses to others.

V. For these Reasons the Protestant Dissenters think all peaceable Dissenters should be exempted from all Penaltys, notwithstanding their Dissent from any Articles, tho they were essential to Christian Faith or Worship. But they think they have a peculiar Right to be tolerated in their peaceable Dissent from things, that are allow'd by the Compellers themselves to be either *faulty or unnecessary*. If any Man had a Right to enforce Points of Faith and Worship, and Force were proper to convince, and to propagate the true Faith and Worship, yet wou'd there be

no reason to use it to enforce things own'd to be perfectly indifferent. The advantage of the Society being the end and measure of Lawgiving, indifferent things ought not to be the matter of Laws. And Laws being the directing of a Man for his good, to direct him to use things indifferent, is, 'as if a Physician instead of prescribing good Drugs, shou'd order his Patient a chip in Porridge. Laws are to restrain Men from hurtful Actions: But to restrain 'em from innocent ones, which will do 'em no harm, is like a sour Physician, to confine his Patient unnecessarily to his Bed, or to ty him up to one certain sort of Meat and Drink, whereby he renders himself intolerable to the Patient, and the rest of his wholesom Rules less regarded, and more uneasy than otherwise they would be.

The Maxim, that Magistrates have an undoubted Right to command '*Omnia licita & honesta*,' which has been so industriously instil'd into the Minds of Magistrates and People of late, has done more mischief than one cou'd easily imagine. And if this was to be the measure of the Magistrates Authority, his Laws might soon come to be no wiser than the Decrees, that were made by the Senate of Women in the Reign of Heliogabalus: Enjoining a thousand Impertinencys relating to Dress, Place, Carriage, Visits, Ceremonys, Salutations, and a multitude of other inconvenient Formalitys. Or as those which were made by that prudent Emperor himself (the Uneasiness of whose Reign to his Subjects proceeded as much from Humor as Vice) who at one time order'd all the Spider-webs of Rome to be collected, that he might judg of its Magnitude; and at another a thousand Mice, Rats, Weasels and Polecats, in order to exhibit them in a publick Shew to the People, for some deep Policy like the former. And yet those who propagate this Doctrin must own that these Laws enjoin'd nothing but '*licita & honesta*.' The Jewish Laws did not only enjoin '*licita & honesta*,' but things

things necessary to that Dispensation.' And yet that Oeconomy is call'd an intolerable Yoke by St. Peter, because there were such a number of Injunctions, which were only necessary upon some certain Suppositions. If Magistrates shou'd exert this Authority in the Church, which the Priests are so desirous to give 'em, a Complaint of a celebrated Father against the Church in his time, for the multiplicity of its Ceremonys, would be very applicable to ours, 'that the condition of the Jews was more tolerable than of the Christians. And if the Advocates for this Principle did but once feel the full weight of it, they wou'd quickly change it for a better, and substitute this in the room of it, that Magistrates have an undoubted Right to command 'Omnia justa & utilia.

St. Aug. in
2 Ep. ad
Januar.

I. Thus far we have the Honor to agree with Sir H. M. in his stating the bounds of a Toleration, and in some of his Reasons for giving it so large a Compass. It may serve to clear this matter better, if we consider how far Sir H. is consistent with himself, and us in his other Notions and in his Practice. And to begin with the last, I wou'd humbly desire Sir H. to consider with himself, how far he has been from tolerating the Dissenters in the same manner he desires to be tolerated. For notwithstanding all his pretensions to Temper and Tendernefs, he tells 'em, 'That they have set up an arbitrary Dispensing Power in their own Consciences, whereby they are enabled to go to Church for their Profit, and to a Conventicle for their Principles.' That is in short, that they are a pack of Hypocritical Knaves, who pretend to Conscience, and pursue nothing but their Advantage. And agreeable to this gentle Method of treating 'em, he tells 'em, 'That they are unfit to be trusted as Executors or Guardians.' If Sir H. had laid this down as his private Opinion, however indecent it might be for him to express, I dare say the Dissenters wou'd not have plac'd it in the

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History of their Persecutions. Sir H. possibly might be aware of this, and therefore that they might not escape so easily, by laying it down as a Fact, that they are not trusted with such Charges by the generality of Dissenters, he gives an accent to the Reflection (which the Dissenters possibly might else have slighted, as much as Sir H. says, he shall the Reflections of his Antagonists) and gives it as the Opinion of a Body of Men, who know 'em the best, and it seems according to him, trust 'em the less for it. What else cou'd provoke Sir H. to say a thing so void of all Truth and Probability? ' That the Dissenters ' have generally more Wisdom than to entrust those sort ' of Occasional Conformists to be Guardians of their ' Children, or Executors of their Wills: Unless it be for the sake of the Quaintness and Chime of what follows: ' Who yet, says he, desire to be entrusted by the Govern- ' ment with the Guardianship and Execution of the Laws ' of their Country. And possibly this is not the only Instance, where a fancy'd elegancy of Expression, may have led Sir H. into a mistake, both when he acts the Historian and the Disputant.

But I find how large soever Sir H's Notions of a Toleration in general are, and of his own in particular, yet the Dissenters are not the only Men, ' that have set up an ' arbitrary dispensing Power in their Consciences': For he can break thro those Bounds at any time to get at an Occasional Conformist, or to make a beautiful Period. An indecent Expression against Sir H. is Persecution: But Sir H. it seems has a liberty to rob Men of their good Name, and expose 'em for acting from a Principle of Conscience, as Men not fit to be trusted in the common concerns of Life and Friendship. And all this is yet to consist with tenderness too. But this is not only to take away the Guardianship and Execution of the Laws from honest Men, but as far as it lyes in Sir. H. the liberty of following their respective

rive Trades too, which Sir H. himself makes one Instance B. p. 3. §. 4.
of a Toleration; since he that's not fit to be trusted as an
Executor, is as unfit to be dealt with as a Merchant.
These are some of Sir H's 'Tenderesses for the Dissen-
'ters, some of his gentle Methods, of his Reasons, Ar-
'guments, and good Examples design'd for the Convic-
tion of the Occasional Conformists.

II. Now since it appears how little Sir H's Practice a-
grees with his own Rules, we must not wonder if we find
his Conclusions sometimes contradict his Principles. The
Inconsistency of some of Sir H's Assertions with his No-
tions of a Toleration, which seem to be the same with
ours, may be consider'd as Exceptions to the Principles
we have laid down concerning it; and may for order sake
be digested under the following Heads. 1. That tho a
Toleration ought to be given to a constant Dissenter, it
ought not to be given to an Occasional Conformist.
2. That to incapacitate an Occasional Conformist for all
Places and Employments, is not inconsistent with a Tole-
ration. 3. That Penalties are not an improper Method
to Convince. 4. Or at least to dispose Mens Minds for
Conviction. 5. That the Dissenters are not capable of
Employments by the Act of Toleration. Or 6. That if
they are capable by that Law or any other, they shou'd
not be suffer'd to remain so.

I. Sir H. thinks in the first place, that tho a Tole-
ration ought to be continu'd to a constant, whom he's
pleas'd to call a conscientious *Dissenter*, yet no Toleration B. p. 6. §. 6.
ought to be given to the Occasional Conformist; whom he op-
poses to a Conscientious Dissenter. But why should not
the Dissenter that occasionally conforms, have the benefit
of a Toleration as well as he who never does? Is not
an Occasional Conformist a Dissenter? And is not his
Mind as free as any others? Is not every thing that is
not introduc'd with Love and Kindness as unlikely, and
are

are not gentle Methods, Reasons, Arguments and a good Example as likely to convince the former as the latter? Can any Penalty be consistent with the Toleration of this Man, which is inconsistent with the Toleration of that? Or to examine this Position by our Arguments for a Toleration, as well as by Sir H's Notions of one, must every Dissenter be exempt from Punishment, because he can't help believing as he does, and should not act otherwise than he thinks he ought; and must an Occasional Conformist be punish'd, because he believes both the Church of *England* and the Dissenting Churches to be good and lawful ones, and because he thinks he ought in conscience to communicate sometimes with the one, and sometimes with the other? If no Man has a Right to punish any Dissenter, can any one have an Authority to punish an Occasional Conformist? Or if Punishment can't alter any man's Opinion, why should it be apply'd to bring over him? Or why is the true side of the Question about Occasional Conformity, likelier to be serv'd by Penalties than the Truth of other Propositions? Nay, since there's less difference between an Occasional Conformist and a Churchman, than between other Dissenters and a Churchman; tho other Dissenters were to be punish'd, why should he? Let any man shew me any difference, why these Arguments, by which Sir H. and we have prov'd the Right which Dissenters have to a Toleration, don't hold equally just in both these Cases.

Sir H. it seems thinks that the Reason why these Arguments don't hold good in the case of the Occasional Conformists, tho they do in that of the constant Dissenter, is, that the Occasional Conformist does not dissent out of Conscience of the Unlawfulness to conform. For according to Sir H's way of reasoning, he that conforms sometimes, shews that he thinks the Terms of Church-Communion are not sinful, and therefore his
 Separat-

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Separation he says is wilful. Now a Toleration being ^{B. p. 2. §. 7.} only due to tender Consciences, and not to our stubborn and corrupt Wills, Sir H. thinks the Occasional Conformist is not entitul'd to a Toleration, tho the Dissenter is. I take this to be Sir H's meaning, when he answers this ^{B. p. 6. §. 6.} Objection, How any one 'that thinks going to a Meeting to be a Crime in an Occasional Conformist, can think that a Toleration ought to be continued long? thus: 'That there are no Premises to warrant such a severe Conclusion upon the Commons. For he asks, 'What prodigious steps must be made to come at it? How 'many plain and obvious distinctions must be laid aside to compass this Argument? Is there no difference, continues he, to be made between a Wilful and Unwilling Separation from the National Church? Between Occasional Conformity for an Office, and for private Information? Between doing that which is, and that which is 'not consistent with the publick Safety?—For does it follow that in case the Commons should think it a 'DETESTABLE CRIME in those, that can and 'will not conform, that therefore they must of necessity 'entertain the same thoughts of those, that would conform and cannot? Is there no difference to be made between an Occasional Conformist for an Office, and a 'Conscientious Dissenter? And this Distinction between a Conscientious Dissenter and an Occasional Conformist, is to be met with in many other places: No ^{Def. p. 2.} doubt charitably to insinuate, and instil into mens Minds, ^{§. 2. p. 4.} that he who conforms upon Occasion is not a Conscientious Dissenter. ^{B. p. 7. §. 1.} So that upon the whole Sir H's Reasons, why the Occasional Conformist is not to be tolerated, amount to these: Because, 1. None but a conscientious Dissenter should be tolerated. 2. Because an Occasional Conformist is no Conscientious Dissenter.

But in the first place, to assign a *Conscientious Dissenter as the*

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the only Object of a Toleration, is subverting all Toleration; and instead of proving it every Dissenter's Right, renders it defeasible and precarious. A Conscientious Dissenter is the Dissenter that acts according to his Conscience, Now if the Magistrate tolerates none but them, whom he thinks to act according to their Conscience, it may happen, that he may tolerate none at all: For some men have thought all Dissenters ill men, and to act against their Conscience; and a great many have thought both Dissenting from the Church, and the neglect of Occasional Conformity as great an Absurdity in it self, and as great a Contradiction to the Dissenting Principles, as any one pretends Occasional Conformity to be now. And Sir H. gives us reason to suspect, that he does not think more favourably of any of the Dissenters than of the Occasional Conformists. For he seems to suppose, that 'tis 'their

B. p. 6. §. 2. 'stubborn and corrupt Wills that make 'em dissent, and 'put 'em under an Incapacity to serve their Prince and 'Country. Supposing then Sir H. to be sole Magistrate, neither Occasional Conformists nor constant Dissenters must be tolerated. But it is not only cramping a Toleration, but rendering it impracticable, to make it extend only to conscientious Dissenters; since no Magistrate can tell who is Conscientious, and who is not. Instead therefore of saying, that none but a Conscientious Dissenter (Sir H. had talk'd more like a man, that was in earnest for a Toleration) if he had said, that none but peaceable Dissenters should be tolerated.

But how does it appear in the second place, that an *Occasional Conformist is no Conscientious Dissenter*? Both the Friends and the Enemies of the Dissenters tell us, that Occasional Conformity is against the Interest of Dissenters; and the Occasional Conformists declare to the World they act by no other Principle, than the Dictates of their Conscience, when they both statedly Dissent, and when they
occasio-

occasionally conform. If Sir H. won't believe them, who must be Judg? Sir H.? How comes he by an Authority to judg his Brother? Is he not setting up an Inquisition then to try and punish Hypocrites, which he pretends so much to abhor, and which he thinks the Dissenters have so little reason to suspect? But Sir H. says 'tis plain he does not act conscientiously: 'For Conforming and Non-conforming are Contradictions, and nothing but a firm Persuasion that the Terms of Communion (he should have said constant Communion) in the Church of England can justify the one; and that condemns the other. We have examin'd before what the Occasional Conformist alleges, to prove that his Practice is not a Contradiction. But supposing it was a Contradiction, whom does it prove to be no Conscientious Man? Why him that continues in this Practice, and thinks it a Contradiction: but not him that continues in it, and don't think it a Contradiction. If therefore Sir H. who thinks Occasional Conformity a Contradiction, should conform Occasionally, he wou'd be no Conscientious Man. But nothing hinders, tho the Practice should be a Contradiction, why a Dissenter who should continue it and does not see that Contradiction, should be a truly conscientious one. For that which is an hypocritical Practice in the man who is convinc'd of the Contradiction, is but a mistaken one in him that is not.

And 'tis happy for Sir H. in my mind, that Consciousness of the Contradiction must go to make a Practice or a Principle Hypocritical; or else I don't know how Sir H. could be excus'd from the same Hypocrisy he charges upon the Occasional Conformists. For we shall find an Instance presently, where one of his Conclusions contradicts its own Premises. But I have the same Charity for Sir H. that I hope he'll have for the Dissenters for the time to come; and wou'd believe he no more saw that Contradiction, tho it lies exceeding obvious, than I would have Sir H. think the Occasional Con-

formists see the Contradiction of their Practice; if there be any Contradiction in it: especially since if there be any, it does not so immediately occur to the Mind. So that I hope Sir H. for his own sake will conclude, that tho every man may judg of the Consistency and Contradiction of the Principles of Occasional Conformists; yet no Man can determine whether he be a Conscientious Man or a Hypocrite who holds 'em.

2. But if Sir H. should be beaten out of this Redoubt, he has another to retreat to. If it should appear, that an Occasional Conformist has as good a Title to a Toleration as a constant Dissenter, then Sir H. says, what he would have done to this Occasional Conformist, is *not inconsistent with a Toleration*; because 'twould be *no Penalty* upon him at all. What is it Sir H. would have done with him? Why he would have him incapacitated to hold any Place or Employment s and seems to express it by allowing him 'a Toleration in his private,' but not in his public Capacity. So that by Sir H's own Confession, it is but half a Toleration he would allow an Occasional Conformist. But notwithstanding this, he calls it 'Moderation,' and says 'tis a Method purely defensive of the Church, without the least Encroachment on any one's Rights or Privileges whatsoever. And in another place he appeals to the World, 'what there is in this Incapacity inconsistent with the Act of Toleration? And in another positively affirms, 'it does not affect the Liberty of Conscience of any Occasional Conformist.' But we need do no more to prove that depriving the Dissenters of all Places and Employments they hold at present, and taking away the Capacity of ever holding any for the future, is a Penalty and a severe one, than to consider, that 'tis putting a Mark of Infamy and Disgrace upon all Dissenters; that 'tis divesting them not only of a Capacity, which they enjoy by Law at present, as they do the Capacity of taking by Will or Deed of

of Gift: But a Capacity of an infinitely higher nature and advantage to a Man of a publick Spirit, and who has so just a Taste of things, as to esteem Usefulness one of the most refin'd Pleasures, and one of the highest ends of Life. 'Tis burying an Occasional Conformist alive, and preventing him from serving his Country and his Queen. 'Tis dispossessing some Men of Places of high Trust and Honor, which they enjoy by the Favor of their Prince, or of the People: And others of Employments in the nature of Freeholds, which they have purchas'd, and which are bought and sold as other Freeholds are: And some, to mention no more, of Places, by which they and their Familys intirely subsist:

A Toleration, according to Sir H. M. is a Freedom from Reproach, Penalties, and Prosecutions for Conscience sake; and an Enjoyment of Liberty and Property in every man's way of worshipping God. This we have shewn to be Sir H.'s Notion of a Toleration before. Let us examine then whether this Deprivation and Incapacity be not as inconsistent with these Notions of Sir H. as with the true ones. And I will leave it to Sir H. himself, whether they are not. For since he thinks he can be persecuted by an indecent Expression, must not a Dissenter think himself persecuted, when he's thus as it were pillory'd, and expos'd as a Villain not fit to be trusted? When a Dissenter is, depriv'd of a Freehold which he has bought, can he be said to enjoy his Property? Or when he has no house left him, but never to go to a Meeting, or to starve (which would be the case of many Dissenters, if they were excluded from all Offices) will he retain the Liberty of his Conscience? Are such Methods as these no Severities? No Temporal Punishments? Punishments they are according to Sir H.'s Notion of Punishments, and his own Confession; and God be prais'd, since Sir H. don't seem quite out of hopes of inflicting 'em, they are not Eternal ones. And

B. p. 3. §. 2.

B. p. 7. §. 2.

if his Expectation should be answer'd, and a Law should pass, threatening the Dissenters with such Severitys, will Sir H. pass his word that there shall be 'no Prosecutions' commenc'd upon 'em? Upon the whole then, how unjustly is it asserted, that a Bill that would have rob'd the Dissenters of so many just Rights, and laid 'em under so many Hardships, 'would not have incroach'd in the least

B. p. 3. §. 4. 'on any Dissenter's Privileges, nor have affected the Liberty of any Occasional Conformist's Conscience: and that

B. p. 3. §. 5. 'a Dissenter that is contending against it, contends for nothing but Power and Dominion? Whereas, 'tis a Toleration of the Conscience of all Protestant Dissenters, and particularly of the Conscience of an Occasional Conformist, and the Principles upon which all Toleration depends both in Fact and Reason, that he's contending for, when he opposes this Bill. 'Tis to defend himself from a real

B. p. 11. 'Persecution,' and that none of the mildest neither. And this is 'both the Dispute, that I may use Sir H's words, S. 4. 'and the End why the Dissenters are so much incited to oppose this Bill: and this is the Reason, why they not only imagine,' but are certain, 'that the same is design'd to bring a real Hardship upon 'em for Conscience sake.

But supposing they were not wholly acting the Christian, and preventing a Persecution, which often proves a Temptation as well as a Hardship to honest men, and were only pleading for their Rights as English-men, are they to blame? Why then does Sir H. upon this occasion ask the

B. p. 4. §. 1. Dissenters, 'whether there is no hopes of going to a better World without a publick Employment? A Question that, as it stands here, would have been a more proper one for a Julian to have made to a Christian, or for Lewis the 14th to his Hugonots, than for one Protestant to put to another. But however, tho there's no Occasional Conformist makes any doubt of it, or whether a man mayn't get thither without an Estate too; yet if he can't have his

Passage

Passage to Heaven thro this World so free and easy without his Employment or his Estate, as with 'em, mayn't he do what he can to defend or regain 'em? But I'm sure if the Dissenters be of the opinion, that they could not get to Heaven without an Employment, they would have very good reason to think Sir H. and his Party did not differ from them, since they take so much pains to engross them all to themselves.

3. But to what end are the Dissenters to have no Places, and some others to have 'em all? Will the incapacitating Dissenters to hold any Place or Employment, convince them, and bring 'em over to the Church? Are Deprivations and Incapacitys any of Sir H's three gentle Methods, which are proper to attain that end? One would have thought that they could neither introduce the Excellency of the Establish'd Church into the Minds of Dissenters by Love and Kindness, nor be either Reasons, Arguments, or a good Example. Sir H. seems to be aware of this; and therefore that he might leave room for his Reader to think that these Penaltys might compass this End, notwithstanding any thing he had said to the contrary, he don't anywhere in terms deny, that Penaltys are improper means to convince the Mind, or that Reasons, Arguments and a good Example are the only proper means to do it: But drops a word, which if it have any meaning, is to give us to understand, that some Penaltys are 'proper' to convince the Dissenters. 'Tis true Sir H. lays it down, 'that nothing can be more free than the Mind of Man, and 'that nothing can prevail upon it, but what is introduc'd 'with Love and Kindness. And indeed any one would imagine, that the Conclusion drawn from those Principles would have been, that since Penaltys are neither Love nor Kindness, they were wholly improper to prevail upon the Mind: and that is the Conclusion that necessarily follows from them. But Sir H's Conclusion is e'en as arbitrary and

Pref. p. 2.
S. 1.

Ibid.

Ibid.

and see as the *Case of Man's Mind*, and amount to no more than this, that gentle Methods are 'more' (instead of the only) proper, and 'more' (instead of the only) likely means to bring the Dissenters over to the Church, than Penalties and Punishments. Sir H. might as well have concluded, if he had pleas'd, that therefore Penalties and Punishments were the likeliest means to do it; and by as good a Deduction from his Premises. Methinks 'tis very hard Sir H. should have any thoughts at all of punishing the Dissenters for differing from the Principles of other Folks, who is not to be precluded by the necessity of the closest Connexion from differing from his own. But tho' it should be at the expence of never so many Consequences and Relations from his own Principles, Sir H. will not suffer himself to be declar'd the Liberty of Persecution. And it must be allow'd that Sir H. has been singularly cautious, lest he should have precluded himself from beginning oar, when he shall see good. And if we attend to his Inference, and not to that which is the natural one, he has left room enough to commence it to-morrow, if he thinks fit. For tho' what is introduc'd by Love and Kindness is the most proper (so 'tis in his Conclusion; but the only proper in his Premises). Method to prevail, yet have a care Gentlemen! If you stand out, and thereby convince Sir H. that gentle Methods are not the most proper to bring you into the Church, Sir H. has another course in reserve. If you won't lead, which w^ould indeed be wish'd, Sir H. don't say you shan't be driven. But tho' the Force of Sir H's own Principles han't been able to carry him off from persecuting Ground, because in all likelihood he wrote in so much haste, as not to take time to look about him, and see where he was; yet 'tis to be hop'd, when he shall seriously reflect at his leisure, whether Truth and his own Principles would have led him, if he had given up himself to their Conduct; he will see that he has stop't short, and will,

will; I hope, immediately give up himself to be led to the furthest length, that the Principles of an absolute Toleration will carry him.

4. Whether the Truth of Sir H's Principles did not give him some little check when he was writing this, I can't pretend to say. But he has been as cautious as if they had. Having only dropt one word, which might rather leave a Reserve and an Outlet to himself, than give a hint to his Reader. But Sir H. has another good end to serve by Penaltys, besides convincing the Dissenters, of which he seems a little freer. And therefore having but barely insinuated their Aptitude to convince the Minds of Men, which he had own'd were free, he insists more upon it, that *they are proper and effectual to dispose the Mind for Conviction*. Which if they be, Sir H. seems to think that tho this Incapacity, that was design'd to be brought upon the Dissenters, consider'd as a Penalty, thou'd be improper, to convince 'em, yet it ought to be brought upon 'em, to dispose 'em to be convinc'd. For he says, after all that he has said of the Freedom of Man's Mind, and that nothing can prevail upon it, but what is introduc'd with Love and Kindness; and that the gentle Methods of Reasons, Arguments, and a good Example, are much more proper and likely means to bring the Dissenters over to the Church, than Penaltys and Punishments, 'yet he cannot conceive that these means will be render'd less effectual (that's Sir H's modest way of expressing it, but he must mean that they will be render'd more effectual, if he's consistent with himself) 'by the Influence and Assistance of such a Bill. And this is the Advantage which I suppose Sir H. tells the Queen, 'the Members of the Church of England will find by these gentle Methods. Pref. p. 1. § 9.

If Deprivations and Incapacitys wou'd dispose the Dissenters to be convinc'd, and were proper for that end, then Pref. p. 2. § 1.

Ded. p. 4

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then all the penal Laws are much more so, and ought to stand in full force against them. For if Hardships are proper to that end, the greater they are, the more likely are they to be effectual. And I suppose they are to be continu'd, till 'tis judg'd that the Dissenters Minds are in a right Disposition: And then Sir H's Scheme will be this. The Dissenters are to be tolerated that they may be convinc'd, and persecuted that they may be dispos'd for Conviction. But Persecution being to precede, the Dissenters won't have much to thank Sir H. for, since for a good reason (which we shall give presently) their Toleration is hardly ever like to follow.

But if Hardships and Inconveniences were the only thing necessary to dispose the Dissenters for Conviction; B. p. 9. §. 1. or if nothing more was needful than to encline Men 'by Interest to make a more favorable Enquiry into the Nature of the Church,' in order to bring 'em into it: Cashiering them of their Places wou'd not be necessary to this end. For the Dissenters find so many Disadvantages by their Separation, and have so many agreeable Prospects in a Return, that they don't want Temptations to conform, neither of the one sort nor of the other. Their Distance from the Church has nothing attending it but Reproach and Difficulty, besides the satisfaction of their own Minds. They are precluded in a manner from Usefulness, Honor, and Preferment; and have little left 'em, but as Sir H. intimates, B. p. 3. §. 3. 'the Liberty of being Mechanics. If these Hardships are not thought sufficient to make the Dissenters wish for a Reconciliation, and it shall be deem'd necessary to that end to lay 'em under greater, Sir H. may, for ought I know, by the same reason think Confiscation, Banishment, and a Dungeon at last, the proper means to attain it.

But how does Sir H. propose that this Incapacity shall dispose the Dissenters to be convinc'd? Why thus: By making 'em 'to wish a Reconciliation with the Church,

Pref. p. 2. §. 7.

Church, and 2. to enquire into its Nature and Excellency. An admirable Method truly of disposing Mens Minds to be convinc'd. Their Hopes of worldly Advantage, and their Fears of Reproach and Shame, with a thousand other Passions, must be rais'd to a good height; and then, just at the nick of time, when they are at a certain pitch, the Men are to enquire that they may be convinc'd. That is to say, a Dissenter must be brib'd and intimidated, in order to make him judg aright, concerning the Excellency of the Establish'd Church. One wou'd think Sir H. had no great Opinion of its Excellency, when he places all the likelihood of Conviction upon that, which the wise Man tells us, blinds the Eyes. And I confess, I can't but suspect, that Sir H. is not that Churchman at the bottom, nor his Zeal for the Church so happily founded, upon a just Enquiry into its Nature, and a Conviction of its Excellency, as he perhaps fancies, and tells the World it is; since he's afraid that the Occasional Conformity of Officers to the Church of England, that is to say, their frequenting of other Religious Assemblys, is as likely a means to ruin the Church of England, as the Occasional Conformity of Papists (that is to say, the Papists frequenting the Church of England) was a means to ruin Popery at the beginning of the Reformation. Which is, as if Sir H. had said, that the Dissenting Assemblys have as much more Excellency than the Establish'd Church, as the Church of England had at that time, above that of Rome: And that the Church of England stands in need of the same Methods to support her against the Dissenters, and has just the same dangers to fear from them, which the Church of Rome had from the Reformation. Are you sure, Sir H. to accommodate your own words, with some small variation, to our present purpose upon a like Occasion: That there is no lurking Papist, no French Politician behind the Curtain, striving for Popery and Arbitrary Power, under the specious pre-

Pref. p. 2.
S. 1, 2.

B. p. 9. §. 5.
p. 10. §. 2.

B. p. 11. §. 2.

'tences of gaining Profelytes to the Church,' from whom you have taken this Method of a Popish and a false Church, but not of a Protestant and a true one? For Truth can be prejudic'd by nothing so much as Passion, nor Falshood be so effectually supported by any thing else.

But after all, if 'tis proper to make Men with a thing to be true, in order to convince 'em that it is so; and that Dissenters want the Invitations of Advantages to make 'em Churchmen; why, since Sir H. don't deny but Occasional Conformity is of service to the Church, why, I say, is he against the Dissenters having those Advantages by it that they now have, in order to convince 'em of its Lawfulness and its Expediency? and why does he think upon his Principles, that Occasional Conformity will be as much practis'd after 'tis no Inlet into Places, as now it is? For if Sir H. thinks that Occasional Conformity will continue alive without any thing but Principles to support it, and yet thinks the Church in danger without giving her greater advantages than those she has, either he must think, that the Principles of Occasional Conformity are better than those of Constant Conformity, and so need the foreign Support of Advantage less, or else that the Occasional Conformists are better Men than the Churchmen, and will do that from their Principles, which the Churchmen without concomitant Advantages won't do from theirs.

But if notwithstanding the Inconsistency of this Opinion with Truth, and another of Sir H's Assertions, he shall think the raising Mens Passions a proper means to make 'em think coolly and enquire; let us see, whether *enquiring* into the Nature and Excellency of the Church, *be the End* for which Sir H. wou'd have this Method us'd? And without all question it is not. For if Incapacitys and Deprivations were only to make Men enquire into the Nature and Excellency of the Establish'd Church, they should be prescrib'd to some Churchmen.

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For all Churchmen have not made that Enquiry ; and then they ought to be incapacitated for all Offices, to make them enquire into the Excellency of a Church, to which they conform'd only from Education, Custom, Ease or Advantage. And if Men were only to be incapacitated to make 'em enquire into the Nature and Excellency of the Establish'd Church, then as some Churchmen shou'd be incapacitated, so all Dissenters shou'd not. For some of 'em have enquir'd into it as much as they can already. They assure us they have, and appeal to Heaven for the Truth of it. And Sir H. ought in Charity to believe them : I'm sure 'tis out of his Province to judge whether they have or no. That must be left to Almighty God, who only knows their Capacities and Opportunities, and who therefore alone can determine whether they have made the Enquiry as diligently as they cou'd, or whether they have not. Ay, but, says Sir H. ' They have not sufficiently enquir'd, for if they had, Pref. p. 2. ' they wou'd by consequence not be occasionally, but S. 1. ' heartily and sincerely reconcil'd to the Church.' Sir H. shou'd have said constantly and entirely, if he wou'd have talk'd charitably or agreeably to the tenor of his Argument here. So that with Sir H. enquiring into the Nature and Excellency of the Church, and conforming uninterruptedly to it, are the same thing. Now Sir H. speaks out, what he has been but muttering before. And the Dissenters are to be punish'd by Deprivations and Incapacities, that they may be forc'd to conform. And not as he has been pretending all this while, that they may be dispos'd to Conviction, by being made to wish, that they cou'd conform, in order to make 'em enquire into the Nature and Excellency of the Church they are to conform to. And tho' indeed 'tis no difference to the Dissenter, whether he be punish'd to make him conform to the Church, or whether he be punish'd, that by being brought

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to wish he cou'd conform, and enquiring into Conformity, he may be convinc'd 'tis his Duty; yet the latter is the fairer pretence for a Persecutor to make of the two. So that I'm sorry for the Truth's sake, Sir H. cou'd think of either of these Methods; and for his Reputation's sake, that he did not rather keep to the last.

5. But Sir. H. thinks that if depriving and incapacitating the Dissenters of all Offices won't do any Service to the Church, yet that at least 'tis no Injury to the Dissenters. Because they have *no Title* to hold Offices, or so much as to the capacity of holding 'em *by the Act of Toleration*.
 B. p. 3. S. 3. For it is said, ' That the Act of Toleration makes no Provision, that any Dissenters from the National Church shou'd be thereby entitul'd or qualify'd for publick Offices and Employments.' And that therefore to disqualify 'em is not contrary to the Toleration. Admirably well argued! No more does it make any Provision, that any Dissenter from the National Church, shou'd be thereby entitul'd and qualify'd to possess an Estate; and does it therefore follow, that to disqualify the Dissenters from possessing an Estate, is not contrary to the Act of Toleration? A Dissenter enjoys his Rights and Privileges by the same Laws that other Men do. Some penal Laws had depriv'd the Dissenters of several of those Rights; and all that the Toleration does, is to restore those that were taken away; but it can't restore those that never were taken away. Now the Capacity of holding a Place, and the actual possession of one, were never taken from an Occasional Conformist by any Law whatsoever: nor therefore does the Occasional Conformist want a Toleration to restore 'em.

Nor can it be said, that to deprive and incapacitate the Dissenters of all Offices, is *not inconsistent with the Act of Toleration*.
 B. p. 3. S. 2. Sir H. indeed says it is not, upon this Reason; Because the Toleration only exempts the Dissenters from the
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the Penaltys of certain Laws mention'd and enumerated in that Act. And if a Bill had pass'd to incapacitate Dissenters from holding Offices, Sir H. says it had inflicted no Penalty that the Toleration exempts 'em from. No, but it wou'd have inflicted a new Penalty : It wou'd have been a Penalty in the nature of a Fine to those who possess some sort of Places, and in some Instances without a salvo Contenemento. And it wou'd have been a Penalty and a Temporal Punishment upon all, for not conforming to the National Church, instead of the gentle Methods of Reason, Arguments, and a good Example. The Toleration does not exempt the Dissenters from being burnt in the Cheek : But I suppose if a Law shou'd pass to burn 'em all in the Cheek, Sir H. wou'd hardly think it was consistent with the Toleration. For the Act of Toleration being an ease given to tender Consciences, all Penaltys are inconsistent with it. And if this incapacitating Bill had pass'd, a new Act of Toleration wou'd have been as necessary to exempt the Dissenters from it, and to restore 'em to their Capacity, as the Act of Toleration, that pass'd in the first Year of the Reign of K. William and Q. Mary of ever Glorious Memory, was to restore 'em to other Rights, and to remove other Penaltys, which were in force against 'em. Indeed Sir H. pretends, that the Occasional Conformists stood excluded from Places, by the plain Intent and Meaning of the Corporation and Test Acts. If they had, there wou'd have been more force in Sir H's Argument, because the Act of Toleration has not exempted the Dissenters from the Hardships of those Acts. But I hope to convince the Reader in another place, that the Exclusion of Occasional Conformists, is neither the meaning of the Acts, nor the Design of the Framers of them. I shall only say this in answer at present, that Sir H. knows very well, that this wou'd not pass for the plain Intent and Meaning of those Acts in
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Westminster-Hall. Or if it wou'd, there had been no need of this Bill, which Sir H. has taken so much pains to defend.

Having premis'd this, I believe we may be able to answer the Query's Sir H. puts upon this Head, in which he every where mightily abounds; and with this Peculiarity, that tho' Query's are Appeals to the common sense of Mankind, upon the confidence that no body can disagree with the Querist, Sir H. generally puts his, where there's the greatest need of Arguments to convince, and where the common Sense of Mankind is the most against him.

B. p. 3. § 3. The first Query is, 'Whether there be one word in the 'whole Act,' i. e. of Toleration, 'to that purpose,' viz. of qualifying a Dissenter for publick Offices and Employments. Answ. No. Nor need there be any such Clause in that Act, to make the disqualifying of Dissenters a Persecution. Qu. 'Did the Dissenters ever desire any 'such thing? Answ. What thing do you mean? To be qualify'd? Yes, they think they are qualify'd by Occasional Conformity according to Law, and desire to continue so; and wou'd think it very hard if their Case may not be alter'd for the better, that it shou'd be alter'd for the worse. Qu. 'Or did they desire any thing more than 'Liberty of Conscience to serve God in their own way? Answ. No. And therefore they desire to be free from all Deprivations and Incapacities, for serving God sometimes in a Church, and sometimes in a Meeting, which is one way by which they think they can serve him. He goes on, Qu. 'And to enjoy their Libertys and Propertys? Answ. Some Places are Freeholds and a part of their Property, and therefore they desire not to be divested of 'em; and a Capacity to enjoy a Place is their Right, and a part of English Liberty; and therefore they hope they shan't be depriv'd of it neither, for serving God in their own way; nor that a Law shou'd pass to do it, upon which they shou'd

shou'd find themselves. 'troubled with Prosecutions for
'Conscience only.' So falsely is it said, that 'this Bill only
'secur'd the Establish'd Government in Church and State,
'by such gentle Methods as are consistent with the Act
'of Toleration. For in a word, 'tis equally inconsistent
with a Toleration to take away any Privilege, the Person
tolerated enjoys by the virtue of the Act of Toleration it
self, or by any other Law; and equally inconsistent with
it to enact a Law, that has a Penalty which the Act of
Toleration has exempted a Dissenter from; or to enact a
Law that inflicts a Penalty, which not existing before the
Act of Toleration, that Act cou'd not exempt him from.
And 'tis but quibbling instead of arguing, to assert the
contrary, and to defend the Bill by such an Assertion.

Ded. p. 3.
§. 2.

6. But it will be said, that if the Dissenters are capa-
ble of publick Employments by the Act of Toleration,
or by any other Law; yet that they ought not to be suf-
fer'd to continue so, because they are Hypocrites and
Schismaticks. All Dissenters but Occasional Conformists
are barr'd already, and they it seems ought to be: And
here lyes the Strength of what may be said against them.
For tho we have prov'd the Right a Dissenter has to a
Toleration in general, and shew'd that an Occasional Con-
formist has the same Right with other Dissenters, and
that depriving and incapacitating him is a Persecution, that
is neither proper to convince him, nor to dispose him to
Conviction, and that 'tis inconsistent with the Act of To-
leration; yet if we can't shew that the charge of Hypo-
crisy and Schism ought not to impeach their Right, the
main Objection wou'd be left unanswer'd. I shall there-
fore apply my self more particularly to consider 'em. First
it is said in proof, that if they have a Right to some Plac-
es, and to a Capacity of all, that Right shou'd not be con-
tinu'd to 'em, because they are Hypocrites. Sir H. says, B. p. 6. §. 6.
their Separation is a wilful one, and that they only con-
form.

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form for an Office, tho'tis a pretty odd Reason he assigns, viz. because every Man that has an Office does conform.

But, 1. the Occasional Conformists desire leave to be heard to the Plea of Hypocrisy that's made use of against 'em, and alledg that the Fact is false, and the Consequence unjust. They in the first place lay it down that they are no Hypocrites. A Hypocrite is one whose Actions are inconsistent with his Principles, and who is conscious that they are so. The bare Inconsistency of a Man's Principles with his Actions can't make a Man a Hypocrite, because that Inconsistency may proceed from Ignorance, Inadvertency or Mistake. And tho a Man that's guilty of these may be a weak Man, yet no Man is a Hypocrite thro mere Weakness: And if Inconsistency made a Hypocrite, shew me that Man that's sincere. For since the Christian Principles are all good, no Man that professes them can at all times be consistent with 'em, but he that's perfect. Hence it follows, that Malice and Design must enter into the Character of a Hypocrite, and the Man's Principles must not only be inconsistent with his Practices, or with some other of his Principles, but he must be conscious of that Inconsistency. So that if it could be made out, against what the Occasional Conformists have said for the Consistency of the practice of Occasional Conformity with their Principles, that 'tis inconsistent with 'em; yet till it can be made out, that they are self-condemn'd and conscious of that Inconsistency, it can never be said that they are Hypocrites. If Inconsistencys were the Test of Hypocrites, the Dissenters think they shou'd not be the only Men that cou'd not stand it. And that if the pretended Inconsistency of going sometimes to a Meeting and sometimes to a Church, were sufficient to prove a Dissenter an Hypocrite, going sometimes to a Cathedral and at others to a Parish Church, sometimes to a Church subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, and sometimes to one exempt from it, wou'd

would fix the same Character upon a Church-man. And I'm perswaded, tho' some Persons are pleas'd to stigmatize their Brethren in every breath with the black Character of a Hypocrite, for that which at most can never be prov'd to be more than a well-meant mistaken Practice; yet it would hardly be born of the Dissenters, if they should deal as freely with their Brethren of the Church, and return this good Language, for their taking Oaths upon the Occasion of a good Place, or a good Benefice: Or for their saying, they are mov'd by the Holy Ghost to take the Orders of a Priest, tho' they are never mov'd, but when a good Provision (or a Title, as 'tis call'd) moves 'em at the same time: Or for a Chapter's praying to God to move 'em to choose a proper Person to be a Bishop, when the Congregation don't leave 'em so much room for a Choice, as Hobson did his Fellow Traveller, when he gave him leave to choose whether he would have what he left him, or none at all.

But supposing that the Occasional Conformists are Hypocrites, it does not follow, that they are to lose the benefit of a Toleration, unless they are injurious to the Society, or some Member of it. For Hypocrisy is no *Civil Crime*, 'tis no Offence against the Society; and therefore 'tis not the Magistrate's business to restrain it by Laws and Penalties. 'Tis an Offence against God indeed, and won't fail of a just Punishment from him in this World or the next. But the Cognizance of it is not committed to the Magistrate, any more than the Cognizance of Lying, of unclean Thoughts, Malice or Covetousness, or of a thousand other Crimes, which no State ever thought of restraining by Laws and Penalties. If Hypocrisy comes to be immediately injurious to the Society, it then falls under the Magistrate's notice: But 'tis the Injury then that is punish'd; and not the Hypocrisy. And when the Occasional Conformist shall become a

Breaker of the Peace as well as a Hypocrite, he won't pretend to the benefit of a Toleration.

And indeed that the Punishment of Hypocrisy is foreign to the business of a Magistrate, don't only appear from his want of a Commission to punish it, and that to punish it is not necessary to the Ends of Society, which are to be the measure of all Laws; but because it wou'd be *impracticable*. For Hypocrisy lying in the Consciousness of the Inconsistency of a man's Actions and Principles, is a Crime not capable of being describ'd by a Law, so as to bear a Trial. For what Evidences can swear (unless some such as were us'd in a Reign, whose Crime was rather Impudence than Hypocrisy) that an Occasional Conformist is conscious of this Inconsistency? And what Judge or Jury can find or condemn it? Actions can only come under their notice; and tho' 'Scribere' may be 'Agere', yet surely 'Cogitare' can't. A Crime of this Spiritual nature can have no Judge but him that tries the Heart and the Reins, and who don't only know the Thoughts of our Hearts, but the Relation and Reference they bear to one another.

But tho' the Occasional Conformists are satisfy'd that they are not guilty of Hypocrisy, and that Hypocrisy is a Crime that is not liable to Civil Punishment, nor capable of Trial and Conviction; yet I believe I may venture to make this *Proposal* in their Name, That they will contentedly stand excluded from all Offices, when all other Hypocrites shall be excluded too: And particularly when the State Hypocrites shall; whom they can't but think more dangerous than they are: Such, I mean, as have never sign'd the Association, or taken the Oaths, or such who have talk'd openly against them, till accepting or keeping some Place of Profit or Honor made it necessary. If Hypocrisy be the Crime to be punish'd in an Occasional Conformist, then all Hypocrisy is to be punish'd; or else when the Occasional Con-

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Conformists are pretended to be punish'd for Hypocrisy, something else must be meant. But when all State Hypocrites shall be debar'd from Places, the Occasional Conformists think, their Country won't want their Service: and so will willingly see themselves laid aside. Tho they are afraid if the Exclusion should be in general of all Hypocrites, it wou'd go with us here as it did at Rome in times of extraordinary difficulty; and that there would be more Places than Candidates and Officers to supply 'em: Or as it went, at the Trial of the Woman taken in Adultery, and brought before our Saviour, there would be too many convicted Criminals, to leave any to be Judges.

Thus the Occasional Conformists, in the first place, think they have remov'd the Bar, that's laid against their Plea to a Toleration: And the Dissenters desire in the 2d place to be heard to the Charge of Schism that's made against theirs: And in this case they deny the Fact, and disallow of the consequence, as the Occasional Conformists did in the other; and neither think themselves guilty of Schism, nor that Schism forfeits a Man's Right to a Toleration. They in the first place deny the Fact, and plead that they are not guilty of *Schism*, as it is describ'd and blam'd in the *Holy Scriptures*. For Nonconformity does not dissolve the Ty, by which he's united to the Mystical Body of Christ. Love to all the Members of that Sacred Body, has made him One with it: And till *Uncharitableness* shall break that Band, he thinks he can never be divided from it. He loves all the Members of this Holy Community, he honours 'em: He has a concern for 'em, and a studious desire to serve 'em: He halves their Sorrows, and receives a sensible Pleasure from their Joys. He envys not their Honors, and chearfully bears their Reproach and Shame. And whilst he feels this Sympathy with all the Members, he hopes he may be pretty secure, that he partakes of that Life and Spirit

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which animates and cements the Whole: and that he's not a benum'd or dead Member, which receives none of that Influence from the Head, that directs and governs all the living ones.

He may indeed endeavor to be serviceable to himself, and useful to his Fellow-Members, in a way different from some others of 'em. But he's not much concern'd at the Clamors rais'd against him for this *Difference*, whilst he don't manage it uncharitably: Since 'differences of Gifts may proceed from the same Spirit, and different Administrations from the same Head and Lord: and all of 'em may be for the profit and advantage of the Whole.' And if after all he should be mistaken; and this Difference should not be so serviceable, as an entire Uniformity would be; yet he thinks a meer Mistake concerning the best way of being serviceable, can't rend and divide him from this mystical Community. And he's conscious of no design to disserve his Fellow Members, or not to serve 'em at all. For whence does it necessarily follow, that a Dissenter manages his Differences from the Establish'd Church uncharitably, or that he has selfish Ends to serve by em; or that they proceed from overvaluing himself, or undervaluing his Brother; from being fond of one Christian, or neglecting, despising, hating and envying another. * He that is uncharitable in such

* These several Instances of Schism are so many Instances of Uncharitableness: And therefore St. Paul with the greatest propriety, prescribes Charity as the cure of Schism, in 1 Cor. Chap. 13. after he had elegantly describ'd the nature of Schism in the 12th: And no Remedy could reach the whole of the case so effectually. For Charity is contrary to every Spring and Instance of Schism: For 1st it seeketh not its own; 2dly, is not puffed up, nor vaunts it self; 3dly, is kind; 4thly, rejoiceth only in the Truth; 5thly, envieth not; 6thly, does not behave it self unseemly: For it thinks no Evil, suffers long, is not easily provok'd: *Gal. 5, 6.* The several Instances of Schism, which we have mention'd, and to which Charity is oppos'd, may be found in most or all the Places of Scripture; where Schism

such Instances, and from such indulg'd Lusts as these, is only concern'd for himself, or for some particular Members of Christ's Body, in opposition to others; but can never be truly concern'd for 'em all: since he's not concern'd for 'em as Members of that Body, but as Members passing under some peculiar Denomination; and consequently must be the Schismatick that is describ'd and reprimanded in the Holy Scriptures.

If any Dissenter should be uncharitable in these respects, and from such Principles, he must necessarily come under this.

is spoken of. (1st.) A Difference, that as such wou'd be no Schism, becomes Schism when it is uncharitably manag'd; and this is commonly an Ingredient of most Schisms spoken of in Scripture. In the 1 Cor. 1. 11. 'tis call'd Contention; and in the 3. 3. Strife. The (2^d) Instance of Schism is describ'd 16 Rom. 17, 18. where we are told, that those that cause Divisions, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ; but by good words and fair speeches deceive the Hearts of the Simple. The (3^d) Instance of Schism we are forbid in Rom. 12. 3. where St. Paul thro the Grace given him commands every Man that was among them, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly of himself, according as God had dealt to every man the measure of Faith. The Pride of the Rich, in eating their Love Feasts before the Poor, was possibly the Schism that St. Paul reprimands 2 Cor. 18. 21, 22. The (4th) is forbid at Ver. 10. where St. Paul commands them to be kindly affectioned one to another, in honour preferring one another; and more expressly in 1 Cor. 12. from the 12th Verse, to the end of that Chapter; where the Apostle by the just temperament of the Usefulness and Comeliness of the several Parts of the Body, and the Sympathy and Care that each Member has thereupon of the whole, elegantly expresses the nature of this Instance of Schism; which consists in despising our Fellow Christians: And the Corinthians overvaluing their own Gifts, and despising those of their Brethren, was very probably the occasion of the 11, 12, 13, and 14 Chapters of his 1st Epistle to them; in which he fervently animates them against it. The Schism of the Corinthians, that St. Paul reproves 'em for in the 1st Chapter of his 1st Epistle, may serve as a proof of the (5th) Instance. In the 10th Verse he beseeches 'em, that there be no Divisions among 'em: but that they be perfectly join'd together in the same Mind, and in the same Judgment; which was, that no Man should glory in particular Men, whether Paul, or Apolos, or Cephas; 1 Cor. 3. 21, 22. and that they should not think of [particular] men above what is written: that no one of them should be puffed up for one against another; but should think Paul and Apolos Ministers of Christ, ch. 3. v. 5. and Stewards of the Mysteries of God, ch. 4. v. 1. An Instance of the (6th) is in 1st Cor. 12. 3. where there were Envyings and Divisions among 'em.

this unhappy Character! But there is no necessity, because a Man differs from the Church, that he should deserve it, or that he should not because he conforms. These are Crimes which *Conformists* and *Nonconformists* are equally capable of, since they are not to be avoided by meer Conformity, nor perpetrated by a mistaken Non-conformity; but consist in Uncharitableness, founded in proneness to Strife; in selfish Designs; Pride or Insolence; Fondness of one Man, or Slight and Hatred to another. And since these are the Springs, and the very Quintessence of Schism, 'tis not difficult to determine, which of the Two are most liable to the Guilt and the Temptation: Whether the Dissenters, who are expos'd to the Cross by their Dissent, and who only beg leave to differ from the Establish'd Church themselves, and to think their own Ministers and Churches better suited to the Ends of their Edification, without condemning Conformity in others; or denying many of their Ministers the Character of Learning and Piety, or the Establish'd Church, that of a true one: Or They, whose Conformity is accompany'd with Worldly Advantages, as well as Spiritual ones; and who would engross 'em both to themselves: Excluding other Men from the Divine Presence in the next World, and from the regular and ordinary means of Grace in this.

Thus we see the Schism, that's so severely inveigh'd against in the Holy Scripture, is Uncharitableness; and wherever that is not to be found, be there what other Differences or Separations you will, there is no Schism. And since the Dissenters are not chargeable with the Scripture Notion of Schism, they are not under what charge they ly of Schism, of Mens making. They pay a great deference to the Judgment of the Fathers, and the Opinions of great Divines; but they have learnt to call no man Master but Christ, and to stand in awe of no Man's

Judg-

Judgment but the Lord's. And therefore if Fathers or Divines wou'd teach 'em new Notions of Schism, they can't receive 'em, in case they disagree with the Doctrines of their great Prophet. And if they shou'd be condemn'd by them, yet they know their Lord, who will judge according to none but the Sacred Rule; will upon an Appeal to him reverse their Decision. And yet the Dissenters think they are not chargeable with the Schism, which is describ'd and condemn'd by the Fathers and modern Divines, neither. Schism, is the Opinion of the Fathers of the three first Centuries, according to a very impartial Representation of the Notions and Practice of those Times, which has yet receiv'd no Answer, is an unnecessary Desertion of a lawful Bishop. And a lawful Bishop in their Writings, is the Pastor of a single Congregation, chosen by the Majority of the Members of that Church, approv'd by the neighbouring Pastors, and ordain'd by the Imposition of their Hands. And that which they took to be an unnecessary Desertion of this Bishop, was deserting him, tho he was not chargeable with Heresy, Apostacy or Immorality. Now certainly, according to this Notion of Schism, the Dissenters can't be chargeable with it, who bore so violent a Persecution, rather than be guilty of this unnecessary Desertion of their lawful Bishops in 62: Since they were not ejected for Heresy, Apostacy or Immorality; but for not conforming to impos'd Rites: A Compliance which wou'd never have been urg'd by the best of the Fathers, who always esteem'd Imposing Rites upon another Church, as an Act of Tyranny in the Imposer.

Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church, Part 1. p. 63-67. 214-218.

P. 213.

Thus the Dissenters think they stand clear'd from the Scriptural and Ecclesiastical Charge of Schism. But Divinity, which shou'd indeed be nothing but an Account of the Scripture, but which happens often to be any thing besides, gives another Notion of Schism. And tho it does not im-

port a Christian much what it is, nor who is chargeable with it; yet since this Theological Scarecrow has frightened men mightily of late, it may possibly be of some service to see whether the Dissenters are not inditable of the Schism of the *Modern English Divines*. Schism in their opinion is an unnecessary Separation from a lawful Establish'd Church. 'Tis plain that this is no Scripture Notion of Schism; for

1 Cor. 11.
18. 21. the Corinthians were guilty of Schism, when they were gather'd together. But be it a definition of what it will, when 'tis understood, it will be at the same time understood, that the Dissenters are not included in it. (1.) Separation in this definition can't mean merely a Local one: for then every Congregation wou'd be Schismatical, since 'tis locally separated from another. (2.) Neither can it mean bare Non-Communion; for then a Man, who never communicated with any Church but his Parish one, wou'd be a Schismatick: whereas it wou'd be very strange, that a Man shou'd be a Schismatick for communicating with the Congregation, which he is oblig'd to communicate with, by the Rules of the Church. (3.) Nor can it mean a bare Difference in Worship or Jurisdiction: For then either Parish-Churches, and Churches subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction; or Cathedrals and Exemptions must be Schismatical Churches; for Cathedrals and Parish-Churches have many differences in their manner of Worship; and Exemptions are not subject to the Episcopal Jurisdiction that others are. (4.) Nor can it mean bare Non-Communion founded on this difference, for then a Man living in a Parish, exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction, or that always worships in a Cathedral, and never communicated with any other, which a Man may do and remain a good Churchman, must be a Schismatick. And if it did mean a bare Non-Communion founded on this difference, the Occasional Conformists cou'd not be included, because they do sometimes join in Communion with the Church; whom

I suppose the Framers of this Definition don't design to exclude. (5.) Nor can it mean an avow'd abstinence from Communion, founded upon a difference in Worship or Jurisdiction (which I believe is the common Acceptation of the word) any more than a bare Non-Communion founded on that difference. For if it did, a Parishioner of an exempted Parish, who liking the Discipline and the Preaching of the Minister in that Parish better than in any other, and who shou'd upon that account never communicate with any other Parish-Church, would be a Schismatick: Which cannot be granted any more, than that a Man shou'd be a Schismatick, for Communicating constantly with his Parish-Church. So that there is no sense of Separation, by which many Members being in sole and constant Communion with the Church of England will not be Schismaticks, as well as Dissenters. And for this Reason I can't see, that the Schism of the Dissenters can be properly included, under the general notion of Separation.

Neither can I see, that when 'tis restrain'd to an *Unnecessary* Separation from a lawful Establish'd Church, it will describe the Dissenters Schism any better; since then it will neither exclude all Churchmen, nor comprize all Dissenters. In order to shew this, we'll consider the other parts of the Definition. By an *Unnecessary* Separation is meant a Separation, that is not made upon the account of some sinful Terms of Communion. Well, be it so. All Dissenters think an entire Communion with the Church wou'd be to them upon sinful Conditions: For it wou'd, in their Opinion, be upon Condition of being Partys to sinful Impositions, Corruptions and faulty Defects, and of less Edification. And the same Scripture that commands us to be Holy, commands us to grow in Holiness, express'd there by its Parts, 'Grace, and the Knowledge of Jesus Christ.' And the Command that en-

a Pet. 3. 18.

joins us the End, enjoins us the Means that we think necessary to that End. And by consequence it wou'd be sinful in a Dissenter, who thinks other Christian Assemblies more likely to forward his spiritual Improvements than the Church, to communicate with her. All Dissenters agree in these Principles, tho they differ in applying 'em. Some being of Opinion, that the consequence of these Principles is, that so much as Occasional and Partial Communion with the Church is unlawful, because they think, even that is making themselves Partys to the Faults of the Church: Whilst others think, for the Reasons alledg'd before, that 'tis only Constant and Total Communion that can abet 'em; and upon that account, the only Communion whose Conditions are unlawful.

And by this it appears, that all Separation from a *Lawful* Church is not Schism: Since better Edification is a Reason for Separation, as well as avoiding Communion with a false Church; and that a good Christian may separate not only from a false Church, but from an ill Constitution of a sound one. And therefore whilst the Definition stands as it does, it is a Contradiction to it self; since there may be a necessary Separation from a lawful Church, which the Definition implicitly denies. So that, if the other parts of it were just, it cou'd not agree with the thing it defin'd, unless to Lawful be added the best constituted. And unless it run thus, that Schism is an unnecessary Separation from a Lawful and the best constituted Establish'd Church; and then the Dissenters are not concern'd in it.

And as by omitting this the Definition is defective, so the last word, *viz. Establish'd*, is superfluous, and makes the Definition redundant. By an Establish'd Church is meant one that has certain Privileges granted it under the Sanction of human Laws. Now this Establishment may indeed give Privileges to the Church, but can never make it a true one, or give it a good Constitution: And it may make

make it penal for me to separate from it, but it can't make it sinful. For the Magistrate has no Commission to give Laws to the Church, nor has the Church any Power to make any: nor does Christ's Laws want any human Sanction, nor can the Society receive any Benefit by it. How therefore an Establishment of the Church makes it Schism for a Man to separate from it, I confess is not plain to me, unless the neglect of a Magistrates Command in things which he has no Authority to command, be the thing that's meant by Schism.

And indeed if Schism be an unnecessary Separation from an Establish'd Church, as well as a lawful one, there cou'd be no Schism before Constantine's time (above 300 years after there were Christian Churches) since before that time the Lawful Church had no Establishment. But putting the Case, that not complying with the Laws which the Magistrate has made concerning the Church be Schism; then as before those Laws were made, there cou'd be no Schism: so neither can they be guilty of it, for whose Benefit those Laws are dispens'd with. And therefore since the Act of Toleration has dispens'd with all those penal Laws, that were in force to the Dissenters, they can't now be Schismatics according to this notion of Schism. Nay since the Act of Toleration has not only exempted the Dissenters from the force of the penal Laws, but has given 'em certain Immunities and Privileges; I know no reason why the Churches of the Dissenters may not be said to be establish'd by the Act of Toleration, as well as the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity; unless the many Privileges the Church has by the one, and the few the Dissenters enjoy by the other, can make the difference. At least, I don't see why this mayn't be asserted, if we may rely upon the Authority of Sir H's Defender; who, upon another occasion, says, that where two Forms of Worship are establish'd by the original Constitution,

*Peace and
Union, or a
Defence of
Sir H. M's
Treatise on
the Occasion-
al Bill,*

neither can be said to be Dissenters from the Establishment. By this time, I hope, the Meaning and the Impropriety of this Definition is sufficiently understood: and how unapplicable it is to the Separation of the Dissenters. Since Schism is not included in Separation; nor is the Separation of the Dissenters unnecessary; nor a Separation from a lawful Church always sinful; and that as there may be a Schism from a lawful Church that has no Establishment, so there may be a Separation from a lawful establish'd Church, where there's no Schism.

But if Schism did consist in a Separation from a lawful establish'd Church, they are *not the Separatists who separate*, because that lawful Church has something they think unlawful, or which they suspect to be so; or at least not only they: But they are the Separatists, who force the others to separate by their Impositions, who make things necessary which they acknowledg to be indifferent, and which they know others scruple as unlawful; and who continue without some other things, which they own to be very desirable. For then the former are debar'd, and don't debar themselves; they are excluded, but don't separate; and are driven from the Communion of the latter, but don't leave it. He wou'd be thought mad, if he were in good earnest, who shou'd fix Rules of Conversation, which he own'd were not necessary to regulate it, and which he knew I wou'd not comply with; and shou'd afterwards cry out upon me for an ill bred Man, because I wou'd not make one of the Company: And He wou'd be thought the ill bred Man, and guilty of an impertinent Sarcasm, if he were in Jest. So that 'tis to be hop'd, that no Body that is either a Friend to the Truth or to the Church, will for the future use a Definition, that may be of some service indeed to the Dissenters, but can never help to support the Church, nor to give us the true notion of Schism.

But

But if Schism does consist after all in Separation from the true Church of England, the Gentlemen that use this Definition shou'd tell us, which of the Churches of England they mean, since there are two at present which lay claim to the Name. This is the more necessary, since those * who have wrote for the Occasional Conformity Bill, are most of 'em Jacobites and Nonjurors; and stile themselves High Churchmen. When these Men charge the Dissenters with Schism, they mean nothing but a Separation from their separate Assemblys. But certainly no Churchman can think this any Objection to the Dissenters, or can wish that the Nonconformists wou'd quit their Meetings, where the Government is fervently pray'd for, and which are tolerated by Law, to go to the Conventicles of the Jacobites, to hear Sedition taught against our lawful Sovereign, in a Cockloft.

Thus we see the Dissenters stand acquitted from the Charge of Schism, according to what notion soever it is laid, whether of the Scripture, the Fathers, or Divines. But if it shou'd be resolv'd, notwithstanding all that we have said, that they are Schismatics, yet they think they may be good Subjects, and that they have not lost their Title to a Toleration. A Schismatick can be no Member of the Church, but he may be an useful one in the State. He can't indeed partake of Ecclesiastical Privileges, because he has no Communion with the Church; But why shou'd he be debar'd Civil Ones? For Schism does not necessarily make a Man a seditious Subject: Where it does, let the Sedition be punish'd by the Magistrate. But so long as a Schismatick remains peaceable, he has a Right to a Toleration, as we have prov'd before. Sir H. M. indeed pretends that the Dissenters are dangerous to the State, I suppose because they are Schismatics: But I shall consider that Question separately, by it self in the Second Part,

* Author of the Wolfstript.
Moderation truly stated.
Occasional Conformity an unjustifiable Practice.
The Defender of Sir H. M's Treatise on the Occasional Bill seems to be of the same Kidney.

The Case of the Dissenters review'd.

Part, and so shall take do notice of it here.

This is what the Dissenters plead for their Occasional Conformity, and their stated Dissent; and the Right they have to an absolute Toleration. But they think 'tis as much the *Interest*, as the Duty of the Government, to grant and maintain it. 'Tis the Interest of the Government, because 'tis its Duty. Duty and Interest, Propriety and Advantage, being as inseparably connected as Virtue and Reward, Vice and Punishment. But it will appear to be more particularly the Interest of the Government, by recapitulating the *Disadvantages* of the contrary Course. For to deprive the Dissenters of any Privilege they now enjoy, and particularly of the Offices which any of them hold at present, or of the capacity they have to enjoy them for the future, is to weaken the Government. For it is to disoblige and discourage sober, industrious, wealthy, frugal Men. It is to deprive the Nation of the readiness of their Loans, and the Benefit of their Informations: 'Tis to rob it of the help and assistance of their Courage in the Camp, and of their skilful experience in our Navys and Fleets. It is to sap it of the Strength it receives from Persons, that are highly serviceable in a prudent discharge of the Commissions of Taxes, Peace and Lieutenancy, in the Bench of Aldermen, Common Council Men and Assistants, in the Courts of Judicature and Offices of State: In a word, of Men that cou'd assist in the making of wise Laws in Parliament, as well as any other of their Fellow Citizens; and in the execution of 'em out of it.

To cashier such Men as these from all publick Offices and Employments, is not only as Maximus told Valentinian, when he had murder'd Aëtius a brave General, with one hand to cut off the other; but with one hand to

Procop. l. 1.
Vandal.

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The Case of the Dissenters review'd.

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provoke the other to rebel against the whole. For 'tis not only the way to weaken the Government, but to endanger it. This it will do by tempting Men first to be Discontented and Uneasy; then to spread those Discontents among their Fellow-Citizens; in the next place, to betray us to Foreigners, by revealing the Counsels of the Government, and retarding its Business; till at last a number of these combin'd together, enter into Conspiracys, and don't stop at open Insurrections. Or if breaking in upon the Toleration shou'd not carry Men to that extremity, nor bring things to an open rupture; it might yet have as much worse consequences, by undermining the very Foundation of our Constitution; as a latent Disease is more dangerous than one whose Symptoms break out, and at the same time discover the nature of the Distemper and its Cure. For it will destroy the balance that there is between the several Partys in England, upon which the Balance of Power between the three Estates depends. And it is upon the latter, that the framing of good Laws depends and the due execution of them; as the latter does upon the former. Nay, 'tis ruining the very Constitution itself, and at once breaks in upon the Prerogative, the Sovereign has to command any ones service that is capable to serve, and upon the Liberty every Man has to serve; and the Rights the Country has to be serv'd by 'em. In a word, whenever the Power of England shall be put into the hands of one Party, all the Prerogatives of the Crown and the Liberties of the People, will be swallow'd up by it. The Will of that Party must be their instead of the Sovereigns Prerogative, and their Interest must come into the room of the general good of the People. But it will not only ruin us at home but abroad, too, by discovering our ill will to the Presbyterians and Occasional Conformists, it will diffuse us more from the

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the Scots, foment their Jealousys of us at present, and render an Union more impracticable for the future. It will by the same Method beget a Distrust in those of our Allies, who are Presbyterians, of our Will; and by weakning us at home, beget an equal distrust in them of our Power to help them.

And if the Church should promote such a Persecution, it must be at her own expence: For it must wound the State, upon whose Security her Safety depends. She must divide and weaken the Christian and the Protestant Interest by it, both at home and abroad, and ruin the Character of Veracity and Temper she has acquir'd by her Moderation, and the Credit that she has gain'd, by being at present thought to deserve 'em both.

If these Reasons did not prove such a Restraint of useful Men, and such a Persecution of good Christians against our true Interest at all times, yet certainly the present unhappy Circumstances of Affairs would easily convince us 'twas *Unseasonable* at this: A time when all our danger is from a Potent Enemy abroad, who has the Treasures of the Indys to support his Tyranny, and has rob'd us of the Revenue of Trade that might help to secure us from his Ambition; who is unanimous and secret in his Councils, and vigorous in his Enterprizes; whilst we are divided slow and irresolute in ours. Sure all Heads, all Hands, all Purfes are few enough to resist this powerful Adversary. Let us learn some of the Methods by which Rome became so great: She naturaliz'd all Strangers, admitted all her Citizens to the highest Honors without Distinction, and laid aside all Quarrels and Divisions on times of publick danger, to unite against the common Foe. If the Cocks of the Game will spare it out, let it be after we have secured our selves from the Kite that hovers over our Heads; and aims at destroying us both. And when the State has
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had the assistance of the Dissenters against France, and the Church has call'd in their help against the Atheists, Deists and Socinians, in the Controversys and Disputes depending betwixt 'em; and when she shall, by their assistance, have secur'd our common Religion from their attempts; let her then, if it must be then, bend her Forces against these Enemies of lesser Importance.

If coming at the Truth, or the Mistakes in the Cause of the Protestant Dissenters, as far as it lyes in any of these Points, were the *true and sole design* of the Disputants, methinks the present Age might hope to see an end of the Contest. The ready way seems easier and shorter than it has been thought and represented. Direct Answers to the Strength of the Cause itself, rather than the Weakness of its Managers; and to the Management rather than to the Persons or the Party who undertake it, wou'd not take up large Volumes, nor require Replies, Rejoinders and Replications, infinite in Bulk and Number, and equally tedious and impertinent. When the Partys come to manage their Cause in this way, it will no longer be suspected that they serve Interest more than Truth, nor doubted on whose side the Truth lyes: But if instead of Arguments we use Charges and Invectives, and instead of Replies, Recriminations, we only dwindle into Satyrists, and by addressing our selves to Mens Passions, give the Sland'rs by too much reason to think, that either we don't know our Cause, or distrust it; and that we rather design to incense one Party and exasperate the other, than to confirm or convince either. Nay if instead of considering the Evidence of the Reasons that are brought, and the consistency of one with another, we compare Principles with Practices, and one Man's Principles with anothers, that happens to be of the same deno-

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mination, we may indeed come at the Truth of Facts, but can never arrive to that of Principles. Or if instead of considering all that can be possibly said for a Cause, we only consider what has been said, or what has been the least pertinently said, we are rather parrying to defend our selves than to protect the Truth, or to make a home thrust at Mens Mistakes and Errors; and must appear to the World, more like men fighting a Prize, than contending in good earnest for Opinions of Weight and Importance.

And yet this seems to be the *State* of the *Dispute*, as 'tis generally manag'd at *present*. He that looks into the Pamphlets that swarm against the Dissenters, like the Egyptian Locusts, and darken the Truth as much as they did the Land, with instead of solid Arguments for constant Conformity, or calm Replys to the Reasons of the Dissenters for stated Nonconformity and an absolute Toleration, find Personal Charges and Invectives, that are either Fictitious, Antiquated or Impertinent. The old Story of forty one, and of the Rye-house Plot, are new vamp'd and set out to the best Advantage. And the Dissenters are represented as Regicides and Commonwealth-men. And I know not what feign'd Designs are trump'd up of introducing Harringtons Oceana, or the State of Holland; of abolishing Episcopacy, and of setting aside her present Majesty. The moderate Churchmen indeed generally share these Calumnys with the Dissenters. But when they have shadd the Dissenters, in Association with the moderate Churchmen, Enemies to the Church and the Nation, the next thing is to set the Dissenters at variance with the Dutch and Scots Presbyterians, and among themselves. The Independants are play'd against the Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians of 41 against those of our days, and the Occasional Conformists against the Constant Dissenters. All this may be talk'd of indeed as matter of Fact if we please; and a little pains wou'd shew both the Falsity of the

Wolf stript,
p. 21, 22,
33.
Moderation
truly stated,
p. 74-78.
Mr. Wesley's
defence
of a Letter
concerning
the Educ. of
Dissenters,
p. 20-24.
28-40.
Source of
present
fears discover'd,
p. 11-18.
Hist. of last
Parliam.
Pref. p. 6.
New Association,
Part I. II.
Wolf stript,
p. 40-48.
70-72.
Ib. p. 77,
78, 79.
Moderation
truly stated,
p. 74-77.

the Charge, and the Imprudence of those who make it, For when they are forc'd to break thro' all Acts of Oblivion and Indemnity to look into the Story of 41, methinks it's a sign they han't much to say against the Dissenters since : And when they are forc'd to charge 'em with the Crimes, which illegal Proceedings and Persecutions tempted 'em to, and with none but feign'd and pretended ones, since Englishmen have had Liberty, and they a Toleration, it's a Sign that the Crimes are not chargeable upon the Men or the good Usage of 'em, but the Hardships and Persecutions they underwent. And it's a shrewd Hint that the source of Malice and Invective against the English Presbyterians must be pretty near exhausted, when their Adversarys are forc'd to search into the Proceedings of the Scots Presbyterians, to find some fresh matter to accuse 'em of.

De Hæ's Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, T. 10, 11, 12. Sir H. M's Peace at Home. Ded. p. 2. §. 2. p. 4. Pref. p. 2. §. 2. B. p. 7. §. 1.

In short, these Invectives wou'd make one think, if the Inveteracy of the Men who use 'em wou'd give us leave to do it, that it was nothing but refin'd Banter ; and that they design'd a Vindication of the Dissenters, and the Satyr upon some other Folks. For certainly they must needs think that these Charges will put the Dissenters in mind, and provoke them to remind the World, that supposing they had been faulty many years ago, some Men have been guilty of the same or of worse Crimes since : For Treason against a whole Nation surpasses that which is committed against any single Person whatsoever : Selling us to France is a worse Crime than Rebellion, and a Friend to Arbitrary Power more dangerous than a Commonwealthsman. The Principles of passive Obedience are as pernicious as the deposing ones : And 'tis a greater degree of Resistance to question a Prince's Title to the Throne, than his Right to command in a matter of Religion and Conscience. But yet a King who had an undoubted Title to the Crown, was brought to abdicate by other hands than those that

*Dissertati-
ones in Iren.
Auct. Hen.
Dodwell.
Diss. 1. §. 43.*

murder'd one: And if Regicides have been fainted, it was not with so much effrontery as Assassins have been absolv'd. Occasional Conformists can't be more dangerous to the Church, than Occasional Subjects must be to the State; nor Nonjurors less prejudicial than Fanatics. And I can't persuade my self, but he that places all his Religion in Ceremonys and Episcopacy, and wou'd even depress the Authority of the Scriptures, to make that of Bishops or Ceremonys stand upon a level with it, is as bad a Christian as he that professes an Aversion or an Indifference to both.

But what does all this signify *to the main Cause*, supposing all the Charges true on one side, and all false on the other? Does it follow because the Dissenters were Regicides in forty eight, or remain Commonwealths-men; because they of our time differ in some points from the Dissenters of those, or because they don't agree among themselves; or because that this or that particular Man has committed some slips in managing their Cause, that therefore no Men have a right to separate from the Worship of the Establish'd Church, or to erect Churches of their own, and to return to some parts of the Establish'd Worship on some Occasions; and that the Government has no Obligation, nor Interest to tolerate 'em in all this? Which are the chief Questions in the Dissenting Controversy.

*A Letter to
a Clergy-
man in the
Country.*

But tho this has been but too generally the Method of managing this Dispute, how absurd soever, and contrary to the true way of managing it, it may upon reflection appear to be, I wou'd be understood to except Mr. *Hoadly* in a great measure out of the Charge. He has studiously sever'd abundance of personal matters from the Controversy; and has shewn the World both by his management of the Controversy it self, and by a later Instance, that he neither wants the Parts nor the Temper that's necessary to bring this Dispute to a fair Issue. He has given a pro-
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nant Instance that he can dispute with the Dissenters without being angry ; and that he can write against 'em to convince 'em, and not to expose 'em, since he retains his desires to do 'em service. A truly Christian Temper, and a rare example of Meekness in a Divine ; an Order which by some certain Fatality, seems to imitate Moses and Elias in their furious Zeal, breaking the Tables of the Law, and calling for Fire from Heaven to consume their Adversarys, rather than Jesus Christ, the great example of Forgiveness, Love, Gentleness and Forbearance. And since Mr. Hoadly has met with so able and so fair an Adversary, the World may expect some new Light from their Debates. And yet, I wish, so hard is it to lay aside Party and Passion, that Mr. Hoadly wou'd have wrote rather in Defence of the Church than against the Dissenters ; and rather against Dissenters than this or that Party of them ; and that he wou'd have apply'd himself to have shewn the Inconsistency of Nonconformity, rather than of the Men that don't conform, and have argu'd more 'ad Rem,' and less 'ad Hominem.' For such a way of reasoning can be only informing us of Characters, and not of Things ; and the consequence of such Arguments can be no more than this, that the Dissenters are in the wrong, and not that the Principles upon which a Man may dissent are not right ; that is to say, it only follows that the Nonconformists ought to Reform, and not that they do ill to Dissent.

However when any other Point in the Dissenting Controversy, shall be as fairly manag'd as those depending between these Antagonists ; it may be justly expected, that the Dissenters shou'd think of *Replying*, or if they don't, as justly thought, that they can't. Whereas whilst their Antagonists continue to write as they do, it may be fairly suppos'd, that the Dissenters have learnt so much

Sir H. M.
Pref. p. 2.

much from one that has very lately appear'd against 'em,
as to take this Motto.

Didicerunt illi maledicere, nos contemere.

And since that Worthy Gentleman has brought several Arguments in vindication of the Occasional Conformity Bill, which seem, for the most part, to be design'd as *real Objections against the Toleration of Dissenters and Occasional Conformists*, rather than as *Invectives against the Dissenters and Occasional Conformists themselves*: and that both the Noise which the Book has made, and the Character of its Author, all challenge a calm and impartial Consideration; we shall attempt it in the Second Part. But Sir H. must not be angry with me, who wou'd so industriously avoid the mixing of personal matters, that I conceal a Name, which 'tis neither worth his while, nor which can't be of any Advantage to his Cause to know; it being of no Importance who writes, but what is written; unless one had so great a Name, and so many honorable Characters as Sir H. has, to put at the end of a pompous Title-page for the service of the Bookseller, and the Recommendation of the Book: which are Advantages the Author professes, he neither envys Sir H. nor has himself.

F I N I S.

A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and about London, from the unjust Aspersions cast upon their former Actions for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the KING to Capital Punishment.

IT cannot be unknown how much we, and other Ministers of this City and Kingdom, that faithfully adher'd to the Parliament, have injuriously smarted under the scourge of evil Tongues and Pens, ever since the first eruption of the unhappy Differences and unnatural War between the King and Parliament, for our Obedience to the Commands and Orders of the Honourable Houses, in their Contests with his Majesty, and Conflicts with his Armys.

We are not ignorant of the over-busy Intermedlings of Prelates and their Party heretofore, in over-ruling Civil Affairs, to the great endangering of Kingdoms, and of this in particular, when private Interests, ambitious Designs, Revenge, or other sinister Ends, engaged them beyond their Sphere. Howbeit, it cannot reasonably (as we conceive) be denied, that Ministers, as *Subjects*, being bound to obey the Laws and to preserve the Liberties of the Kingdom, and having an Interest in them and the Happiness of them, as well as others, may and ought

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(without incurring the just censure due to Busy-bodies and Incendiaries) to appear, for preserving the Laws and Liberties of that Commonwealth whereof they are Members, especially in our case, when it was declared by the Parliament, that all was at stake, and in danger to be lost. No, nor as *Ministers* ought they to hold their peace, in a time wherein the Sins of Rulers and Magistrates, as well as others, have so far provoked God, as to kindle the fire of his Wrath against his People. And yet, for this alone, the faithful Servants of God, have in all Ages, thro the Malice of Satan and his Instruments, been traduced as Arch-Incendiaries, when only their Accusers are indeed guilty of both laying the train, and of putting fire to it, to blow up a Kingdom.

An *Ahab* and his Sycophants think none so fit to bear the Odium of being the grand Troubler of *Israel*, as *Elijah*. Thus; the Popish Device was, to charge the *Gunpowder Treason* (had it taken effect) upon the *Puritans*: And if you believe *Tertullus*, even a *Paul* is a pestilent Fellow, a Mover of Sedition throughout the World, a Ringleader of a *Señ*, and what not, but what he is. Yea, *Christ* himself (tho a Friend to Monarchy, even of Heathenish *Rome*) is proclaimed an Enemy to *Cesar*, to open a way to his Destruction, by their Malice, who never cared for the Interest of *Cesar*.

Wherefore, altho *with us*, who have had experience of like usage, it be a small thing to be thus judged of men, when we regard only our own particular Persons: For, if they call the Master of the House *Beelzebub*, how much more those of his Household? Yet when we consider how much it concerns the Honour of our Master, and the good of all, to preserve our Ministerial Function immaculate (our good Names being, in that relation, as needful to others, as a good Conscience to our selves) we dare not but stand by and assert the Integrity of our Hearts, and the

the Innocency of all our Actions (in reference to the King and Kingdom) for which we are so much calumniated and traduced.

This we are compel'd to at this time, because there are many who very confidently (yet most unjustly) charge us to have been formerly instrumental toward the taking away the Life of the King: And because also there are others, who in their scurrilous Pasquils and Libels (as well as with their virulent Tongues) represent us to the World as a *bloody seditious Sect, and traiterous Obstructors of what all the godly People of the Kingdom do earnestly desire for establishing of Religion and Peace*, in that we stick at the Execution of the King, while yet we are (as they falsely affirm) content to have him *convicted and condemned*. All which we must, and do from our hearts disclaim, before the whole world.

For when we did first engage with the Parliament, (which we did not till called thereunto) we did it with loyal Hearts and Affection towards the King and his Posterity; not intending the least hurt to his Person, but to stop his Party from doing further hurt to the Kingdom; not to bring his Majesty to Justice (as some now speak) but to put him into a better capacity to do Justice: *To remove the Wicked from before him, that his Throne might be establish'd in Righteousness*; not to dethrone and destroy him, which (we much fear) is the ready way to the Destruction of all his Kingdoms.

That which put any of us on at first to appear for the Parliament was, *The Propositions and Orders of the Lords and Commons in Parliament* (June 10. 1642.) for bringing in of Money and Plate, &c. wherein they assured us that whatsoever should be brought in thereupon, should not be at all employed upon any other occasion, than to maintain the Protestant Religion, the King's Authority, his Person and his Royal Dignity, the free course of Justice, the Laws

of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament, against any Force which shall oppose them.

And in this we were daily confirmed and encouraged more and more by their many subsequent Declarations and Protestations, which we held our selves bound to believe, knowing many of them to be godly and conscientious Men, of publick Spirits, zealously promoting the common good, and labouring to free this Kingdom from Tyranny and Slavery, which some evil Instruments about the King endeavour'd to bring upon the Nation.

As for the present Actings at *Westminster*, since the time that so many of the Members were by force secluded, divers imprisoned, and others thereupon withdrew from the House of Commons (and there not being that Conjunction of the two Houses as heretofore) we are wholly unsatisfied therein, because we conceive them to be so far from being warranted by sufficient Authority, as that in our apprehensions they tend to an actual Alteration (if not Subversion) of that which the Honourable *House of Commons*, in their *Declaration of April 17. 1646.* have taught us to call the *Fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom*, which they therein assure us (if we understand them) they would never alter.

Yea, we hold our selves bound in duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels and Men, that we verily believe that which is so much feared to be now in agitation, the taking away the Life of the King, in the present way of Trial, is, not only not agreeable to any Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion (never yet stained with the least drop of Blood of a King) or the fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom; but contrary to them, as also to the *Oath of Allegiance*, the *Protestation of May 5. 1641.* and the *Solemn League and Covenant*: from all or any of which Engagements, we know

know not any Power on Earth, able to absolve us or others.

In which last, we have sworn (with hands lifted up to the most high God) *That we shall with sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several Vocations, endeavour with our Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve and defend the Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority, in the defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms: That the world may bear witness with our Consciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.*

And we are further tied by another Article of the same Covenant; *Not to suffer our selves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, perswasion or terror, to be divided or withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary party, or to give our selves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerns the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and honour of the King: but shall all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever.* And this we have not only taken our selves, but most of us have by command of the Parliament administred it to others, whom we have thereby drawn in to be as deep as our selves in this publick Engagement.

Therefore, according to that our Covenant, we do in the Name of the Great God (to whom all must give a strict account) warn and exhort all who either more immediately belong to our respective Charges, or any way depend on our Ministry, or to whom we have administred the said Covenant (that we may not by our silence suffer them to run upon that highly provoking sin of Perjury) to keep close to the ways of God, and the rules of Religion, the Laws, and their Vows, in their constant maintaining the true Reformed Religion, the fundamental Constitution and Government
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* Declared by both Houses, (for the substance of it) to be *Destroyive to the being of Parliaments, and to the fundamental Government of the Kingdom*, in Decemb. 1647. yea, condemned heretofore by the General, and his Council of War, and one of the Soldiers shot to death for promoting it.

of this Kingdom, (not suffering themselves to be seduced from it, by being drawn in to subscribe the late Models, or *Agreement of the People* *, which directly tends to the utter subversion of the whole frame of the fundamental Government of the Land, and makes way for an universal toleration of all Heresies and Blasphemies, directly contrary to our **Covenant**, if they can but get their Abettors to cover them under a false guise of *the Christian Religion*) as also in preserving the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, and the Union between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*; to mourn bitterly for their own sins, the sins of the City, Army, Parliament, and Kingdom, and the woful miscarriages of the King himself (which we cannot but acknowledge to be many and very great) in his Government, that have cost the three Kingdoms so dear, and cast him down from his Excellency into an horrid pit of misery, almost beyond Example: And to pray that God would both give him effectual Repentance, and sanctify that bitter Cup of Divine Displeasure, that the Divine Providence hath put into his hand; as also that God would restrain the violence of men, that they may not dare to draw upon themselves and the Kingdom, the blood of their Sovereign.

And now, we have good reason to expect that they who brought us under such a bond, and thereby led us into the necessity of this present **Uindication** and Manifestation of our Judgments and Discharge of our Consciences, should defend us in it. However, we resolve rather to be of their number that tremble at his *Terrors* who is a *consuming fire*, and will not fail to *avenge the quarrel of his Covenant*, upon all that contemn it, than to be found among those who *despise the Oath by breaking his Covenant* (after lifting up the hand) altho it had been made but in Civil things only, and that with the worst of Men.

Lev. 26.
Ezek. 17.
2 Sam. 21.

C. Burges, D. D. Preacher of the Word in Paul's Lond.
Will. Gouge, D. D. Pastor of Black-Fryars.
Edm. Stanton, D. D. Pastor of Kingston.
Tho. Temple, D. D. Pastor of Battersey.
Geo. Walker, Pastor of John Evang.
Edm. Calamy, Pastor of Aldermanbury.
Jer. Whitaker, Pastor of Magd. Bermunsey.
Dan. Cawdrey, Minister of Martins in the Fields.
William Spurstow, Minister of Hackney.
La. Seaman, Pastor of Alb. Breadstreet.
Simeon Ashe, Minister of Michael Basingshaw.
Thomas Case, Minister of Magd. Milkstreet.
Nich. Proffet, Minister of Fosters.
Thomas Thorowgood, Minister of Crayford.
Edward Corbet, Minister of Croyden.
Henry Roborough, Pastor of Leonards East-Cheap.
Arthur Jackson, Pastor of Michaels Woodstreet.
Ja. Nalton, Pastor of Leonards Fosterlane.
Thomas Cawton, Pastor of Bartholomew Exchange.
Charles Offspring, Pastor of Antholins.
Sa. Clark, Minister of Bennet Fynk.
Jo. Wall, Minister of Michael Cornhill.
Fran. Roberts, Pastor of the Church at Austins.
Mat. Haviland, Pastor of Trinity.
John Sheffield, Minister of Swithins.
William Harrison, Minister of Gracechurch.
William Jenkyn, Minister of Christchurch.
John Viner, Pastor of Botolph Aldgate.
Elidad Blackwel Pastor of Andrew Undershaft.
John Crosse Minister at Matthews Fridaystreet.
John Fuller Minister at Buttolph Bishopsgate.
William Taylor Pastor of Stephens Colemanstreet.
Peter Witham Pastor of Albans Woodstreet.
Fran. Peck Pastor of Nich. Acorne.
Christopher Love Pastor of Anne Aldersgate.

John Wallis Minister of *Martin Ironmonger-lane.*
Tho. Watson Pastor of *Stephens Walbrook,*
Tho. Bedford Pastor of *Martins Outwich.*
William Wickins Pastor of *Andrew Hubbard.*
Tho. Manton Minister of *Stoke Newington.*
Thomas Gouge Pastor of *Sepulchers.*
William Blackmore Pastor of *Peters Cornhil.*
Robert Mercer Minister of *Brides.*
Ra. Robinson Pastor of *Mary Woolnoth.*
John Glascock Minister at *Undershaft.*
Thomas Whately Minister at *Mary Wool-Church.*
Jonathan Lloyd Pastor of *James Garlick-Hithe.*
John Wells Pastor of *Olaves Jury.*
Benjamin Needler Pastor of *Margaret Moses.*
Nath. Staniforth Minister of *Mary Bothaw.*
Stephen Watkins Minister of *Mary Overies.*
Jacob Tice Pastor of *Botolph Billingsgate.*
John Stileman Minister at *Rotherhithe.*
Josias Bull Pastor of *North Cray.*
Jonathan Devereux late Minister at *Andrews Holborn.*
Paul Russel Preacher at *Hackney.*
Josuah Kirby Minister of the Word.
Arthur Barham Pastor at *Helens.*

